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FORTY-SEVENTH
ANNUAL REPORT OF THE
BUREAU OF
AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

1929-1930

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[illegible]. Decorated elkskin pouch made by Fritz Hanson, a Karok Indian of Somesbar, Siskiyou County, Calif., and purchased from him by the bureau. (1 specimen.)

106620. Archeological material collected in 1928 by Dr. F. H. H. Roberts, jr., from early Pueblo ruins in the Piedra District, Archuleta County, southwestern Colorado. (927 specimens.)

PROPERTY

Office equipment was purchased to the amount of $81.78.

MISCELLANEOUS

The correspondence and other clerical work of the office has been conducted by Miss May S. Clark, clerk to the chief, assisted by Mr. Anthony W. Wilding, clerk. Mrs. Mae W. Tucker, stenographer, was engaged in compiling the catalogue of phonograph records of Indian songs, typing manuscripts for Doctor Swanton, and in assisting Mr. Harrington in his work [illegible] records. Mrs. Frances S. Nichols assisted the editor.

During the course of the year information was furnished by members of the staff in reply to numerous inquiries concerning the North American Indian peoples both past and present, and the Mexican peoples of the prehistoric and early historic periods to the south. Various specimens sent to the bureau were identified and data on them furnished for their owners.

Personnel.—Dr. Francis LaFlesche retired as ethnologist of the bureau December 26, 1929.

Respectfully submitted.

M. W. Stirling, Chief.

Dr. C. G. Abbot,
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.

THE ACOMA INDIANS

By LESLIE A. WHITE

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THE ACOMA INDIANS

By Leslie A. White

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF ACOMA

When Fray Marcos de Niza returned to Mexico from Zuñi in 1539 he told, among many other things, of having heard of a "Kingdom of Hacus" which lay to the east of Zivola (Cibola). This is the first reference to Acoma.

Coronado found himself at Zuñi (Cibola) the following year (1540). He dispatched Captain Alvarado eastward on a journey of exploration.

"Captain Alvarado started on this journey, and in five days reached a village which was on a rock called Acuco, having a population of about 200 men. These people were robbers, feared by the whole country round about. The village was very strong, because it was upon a rock out of reach, having steep sides in every direction, and so high that it was a very good musket that could throw a ball as high. There was only one entrance by a stairway built by hand, which began at the top of a slope which is around the foot of the rock. There was a broad stairway for about 200 steps, then a stretch of about 100 narrower steps, and at the top they had to go up about three times as high as a man by means of holes in the rock, in which they put the points of their feet, holding on at the same time by their hands. There was a wall of large and small stones at the top, which they could roll down without showing themselves, so that no army could possibly be strong enough to capture the village. On the top they had room to sow and store a large amount of corn and cisterns to collect snow and water.

"These people came down to the plain to fight and would not listen to any arguments. They drew lines on the ground and determined to prevent our men from crossing these, but when they saw that they would have to fight they offered to make peace before any harm had been done. They went through their forms of making peace, which is to touch the horses and take their sweat and rub themselves with it, and to make crosses with the fingers of the hands. But to make the most secure peace they put their hands across each other, and they keep this peace inviolably. They made a present of a large number of (turkey) cocks with very big wattles, much bread, tanned deerskins, pine (piñon) nuts, flour (corn meal), and corn." (From Winship, The Coronado Expedition, pp. 490–491, Relación of Castañeda.)

There is another account of Alvarado's visit to Acoma by an anonymous chronicler, who states that Alvarado "started off, and 30 leagues from Cibola found a rock with a village on top, the strongest position that ever was seen in the world, which was called Acuco in their language, and Father Friar Marcos called it the 'kingdom of Hacus.' They came out to meet us peacefully, although it would have been easy to decline to do this and to have stayed on their rock, where we would not have been able to trouble them. They gave us cloaks of cotton, skins of deer and cows (buffalo), and turquoises, and fowls and other food which they had, which is the same as in Cibola." (Winship, Coronado Expedition, p. 575.)

This gives us a picture of Acoma in 1540: A village of about 200 houses, from two to four stories high, situated on an almost inaccessible mesa almost 400 feet high; with cornfields and cisterns on the summit; with cotton, deerskin, and buffalo-hide garments; with domesticated turkeys, quantities of turquoise, etc.[1] Castañeda tells us that "they venerate the sign of the cross in the region where the settlements have high houses. For at a spring which was in the plain near Acuco they had a cross two palms high and as thick as a finger, made of wood with a square twig for its crosspiece, and many little sticks decorated with feathers around it, and numerous withered flowers, which were the offerings." This is a very interesting report; it describes, without doubt, prayer-stick ritual or usage at Acoma in 1540.[2]

Where the Acoma people lived before they established themselves so securely on the rock where Alvarado found them is a question concerning which there are some clues but few established facts. Their origin-migration myth says that they came from the north. Bandelier states: ". . . so far as I am able to judge, the gist of Acoma folklore assigns the origin of the tribe to a separation for some cause or other from the tribe of Cia. Thence they drifted to the southwest, across the bleak and unprepossessing valley of the Rio Puerco, and, dividing into two bands, established themselves in pueblos of small size to the right and left of the Cañada de la Cruz, and on the mesa above Acomita, 12 miles north of their present village."[3] He also mentions a number of small pueblo ruins near Acoma.[4]

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[1] Benavides, in his Memorial, published in 1630, states that corn was planted on the summit of the Acoma mesa. The Acoma mesa is divided into two roughly equal parts, the village being on the north mesa; the south portion is unoccupied (the largest water reservoir, however, is on the south mesa). At the present time there is neither room nor soil on the north mesa to grow enough corn for half a dozen families. There is considerable room on the south mesa, but it is so rough and barren and rocky that only a small amount could be utilized for crops. I doubt very much if corn in quantities sufficient to feed the pueblo was ever grown on the summit. There are other statistics given by Benavides which are of interest here. He says that the mesa is 1,000 estados (an estado is 1.964 yards) high. He says there were 2,000 houses and 7,000 people. These, of course, are gross exaggerations, as is his estimate of the length of the mesa being 3 leagues. (See translation of this memorial in Land of Sunshine, vol. XIV, translated by Mrs. E. E. Ayer, edited and annotated by F. W. Hodge.)

[2] Winship, Coronado Expedition, p. 544.

Northeast of Acoma about 3 miles is the Enchanted Mesa (Mesa Encantada), or K'atzimᵒ. It is a large mesa with sheer perpendicular walls rising almost 400 feet from the flats below. Lummis, in his Land of Poco Tiempo, recounts the Acoma tale that their people once lived on the summit of this rock. A great storm, so the story goes, broke away the rock trail which led to the top. Most of the Acoma people were in their fields at this time, but those remaining in the pueblo perished of hunger; they could not come down. In 1895, F. W. Hodge, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, climbed to within 60 feet of the summit and examined the talus heaped along the side. He reported finding some potsherds. Two years later Prof. William Libbey, of Princeton University, reached the summit. He reported that diligent search did not produce any trace of a former occupation. So the Bureau of Ethnology directed Hodge to make another ascent. This he did in September, 1897. This time he found more pottery, fragments of a shell bracelet, and a broken stone implement on the summit. He also reported a small stone structure which he was certain was not a natural formation.[5]

Granting that a few potsherds were found on the summit of K'atzimᵒ does not prove that the Acoma people lived there; a few potsherds do not make a pueblo. Those sherds may have been left there by people who ascended for ceremonial purposes. Hodge found a prayer stick or two in a cleft not far from the summit. Ceremonial visits are made to this mesa even yet. It would seem that traces of rock walls would remain had there ever been houses on the top of this great rock.

The interval between the visits of Alvarado and Espejo was uneventful. In 1581 Fray Augustin Rodriguez and Sánchez Chamuscado visited Acoma with a small party.[6] In the year following, Espejo arrived at Acoma, where he spent three days. He describes the village much as Castañeda did, mentioning the cisterns, foods, wearing apparel, etc. Two items of considerable significance he mentions: "These people have their fields 2 leagues from the pueblo on a river of medium size whose waters they intercept for irrigating purposes . . ."[7] And "In our honor they performed a very ceremonious mitote and dance, the people coming out in fine array. They performed many juggling feats, some of them very clever, with live snakes."[8]

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[3] Old Keresan pottery which I have seen in museums shows far greater resemblances between Acoma and Zia than between Acoma and either Santo Domingo or Cochiti.

[4] Bandelier, Final Report, Pt. II, pp. 312-320.

[5] See Hodge, F. W., in Land of Sunshine, November, 1897; also in Century Magazine, May, 1898; also in National Geographic Magazine, vol. VIII, 1897. Also see Libbey, William, in Harper's Weekly, Aug. 28, 1897, and notes by Lummis and Hodge in Land of Sunshine, October and November, 1897.

[6] Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, collected by Bandelier and edited by C. W. Hackett, vol. I, p. 193.

On the 27th of October, 1598, Don Juan de Oñate visited Acoma and received the obediencia of the pueblo. It is said that some of the Acoma chiefs tried to lure Oñate into an estufa to see something "very curious"; once inside, they planned to kill him. But Oñate declined to enter. He left the pueblo in safety and continued his journey westward.[9]

Capt. Gaspar de Villagrá, the poet warrior to whom we are indebted for many graphic accounts of these days, reached Acoma shortly after Oñate's departure. He was alone, having only his horse and his dog for companions. He was received by Zutucapan, an Acoma chief, who tried to resist Oñate. So unfriendly did this chief seem, Villagrá refused to dismount. Instead, he hurried on to join Oñate. His account of his escape is dramatic and at points ludicrous. He states that his horse fell into a pit which the Indians had dug for this purpose and had covered over with brush. Leaving his horse dead in the pit (in another connection he mentions still having his noble charger some time after this adventure), he went on afoot. There was snow on the ground, so he reversed his boots to deceive his pursuers (!). He suffered greatly from hunger and finally decided to eat his dog. But "as the faithful animal with the life torrent pouring from his side turned to lick the hand of his slayer, Villagrá had no heart to eat the food obtained at such a cost."[10]

Late in September (1598) Don Juan Zaldívar, the maestro de campo of Oñate, arrived at Acoma with 20 or 30 men. Leaving a few men at the foot of the mesa to guard the horses, Zaldívar and his men went up to the village. Here they were received in friendly fashion by the natives. But while the Spaniards were wandering about the pueblo, scattered here and there, the Acomas suddenly fell upon them with furious yells and war clubs. Zaldívar himself was struck down by Zutucapan, the wily chief. Five soldiers ran to the edge of the mesa and jumped over the cliff; one man was killed in the fall, but the others alighted without injury. All the rest were killed. The four survivors joined the men with the horses and escaped, joining Oñate.[11]

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[7] Bolton, H. E., Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, pp. 182-183. Bandelier attempted to identify these fields as those in the Acomita Valley, 12 miles north of Acoma. "The distance indicated by him (Espejo), 2 leagues, does not agree; but since he adds 'on a middle-sized river . . .' I infer that their fields were on some point along the course of the Blue-water." Final Report, pt. II, pp. 315-316.

[8] Bolton, loc. cit.

[9] Bancroft, Arizona and New Mexico, pp. 138-139.

[10] Bancroft, op. cit., p. 140.

[11] We are indebted to Villagrá for the account of this episode. While we need not accept each detail as assured fact, the central fact is true. Zaldívar and many of his men were killed at Acoma at this time. See Bancroft, Arizona and New Mexico, pp. 142-143.

It was decided to send Don Vicente Zaldívar, the brother of Don Juan, to punish the Acomas. Not only was revenge in order but other pueblos must not see Acoma remain victorious. So on the 21st of January, 1599, Captain Vicente de Zaldívar arrived at Acoma with 70 men, including Villagrá. It is said that Zutucapan was very defiant. Other leaders, especially one Chumpo, urged the removal of women and children from the mesa before any fighting began. Zutucapan and his followers were very confident, however, and everyone remained in the pueblo.

The fight began. Zaldívar sent most of his men to engage the Indians at the trail, while 12 men stealthily ascended the south mesa, unnoticed by the Indians, and gained the summit. The fight lasted two or three days. According to Villagrá the siege must have resembled the siege of Troy; great struggles of great heroes rocked the mesa. As a matter of fact, the Spaniards lost only one man. When they finally gained the village they killed many Indians and burned their houses. Chumpo, he who had counseled caution, was allowed to settle on the plain below with his followers.[12]

It is said that the Acomas saw Santiago hovering over the Spaniards on a white horse during the fight. The Spaniards were as ready to believe this as were the Indians.[13]

The Acoma people were soon back on the top of their mesa. And they were far from friendly. Father Zárate Salmeron is said to have "pacified" the Acomas about 1620. In his Relación he states that one Capt. Gerónimo Marquez had told him that he had once seen on the walls of an estufa at Acoma some pictures of Aztecs. The Acomas said that these people had come from the west some years previous; and since they had never seen any people like them, they had painted their likeness on the walls of their estufa. When they left, the Aztecs went toward the Rio Grande pueblos. Father Zárate made inquiry at some of the Rio Grande pueblos; and although he was frequently told about these strangers, he never succeeded in absolutely identifying them as people from Mexico.[14]

In 1629 (approximately) Father Juan Ramírez went to Acoma. He chose this pueblo because he had heard that they were the most rebellious of all the tribes. Upon (or shortly after) his arrival he restored a child, who had just expired, with holy water and appropriate words. This act won for him the regard of the Acomas. Father Ramírez is said to have built the mission church at Acoma.[15]

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[12] It is said that 600 accompanied Chumpo. The total population was estimated at 6,000, which is at least four times too large, I believe.

[13] In a letter to the viceroy, the Count of Monterey, dated Mar. 2, 1599, Oñate wrote as follows: ". . . because my maese de campo was not as cautious as he should have been, they killed him with 12 companions in a great pueblo and fortress called Acoma, which must contain about 3,000 Indians. As punishment for its crime and its treason against its majesty to whom it has already rendered submission by a public instrument (!), and as a warning to the rest (of the pueblos), I rased it and burned it completely." This is without doubt a great exaggeration, I believe. (See Bolton, Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, p. 218.)

[14] See his Relación, translated in Land of Sunshine, vol. XII.

The next incident of consequence at Acoma is the revolt of 1680, a general uprising of all the pueblos in which all the Spaniards in the pueblo area were either killed or driven out. Fray Luis Maldonado (and possibly two others) were killed at Acoma.[16]

During the reconquest of the country by Don Diego de Vargas, Acoma was visited by this general in November, 1693. The Acomas were ready to fight, but De Vargas persuaded them to yield, and on November 4 he entered the pueblo with his priests and some soldiers, where ceremonies of submission were performed. Eighty-seven children were baptized at this time.[17]

On the 4th of June, 1696, Taos, Picuris, Santo Domingo, Cochiti, and Jemez revolted and killed five missionaries and 21 other Spaniards. The Jemez people fled to the mountains. They sought aid from the Acomas, Zuñis, and the Navahos. On the 29th of June, Capt. Miguel de Lara, with a small detachment of soldiers from Zia, and Don Fernando Durán y Chávez, the alcalde mayor of Bernalillo, met the revolutionists in San Diego Cañon (at the ruins of the pueblo of San Juan). The Spaniards routed the Indians. Eight Acoma warriors were killed and a number of the Jemez. The alliance between Acoma and Zuñi was disrupted and the Jemez fled to the mountains.[18]

To quiet the Acomas, De Vargas marched to the pueblo, and on the 15th of August, 1696, he attacked the village, capturing five men, one of them a chief. But he did not succeed in entering the town. "Then he released the chief and resorted to persuasion, without success, finally shooting the captives, ravaging the corn fields, and retiring."[19]

Don Diego de Vargas was succeeded by Pedro Rodríguez Cubero as governor in 1696; Cubero assumed office on the 2d of July, 1697. During his tour of the west in 1699 Cubero received the submission of Acoma on the 6th of July.

ACOMA TO-DAY

Acoma's early reputation for vigorous unfriendliness to the whites has been maintained to the present day. Of course there has been no violence for many years, but Government officials and employees, representatives of religious organizations, and tourists well know the difficulties which confront a white man or woman at Acoma. The Acoma people are suspicious, distrustful, and unfriendly. In addition to their constant fears that they may have land taken from them, or that they may be taxed by the Government, they are ever on their guard to prevent any information concerning their ceremonies from becoming known lest they be suppressed (or ridiculed) by the whites. A young man whom I had become quite well acquainted with once told me that he had heard of such things as clans at other pueblos, but that nothing of that sort was to be found at Acoma.

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[15] Benavides, Memorial, Land of Sunshine, vol. XIII.

[16] See Relación of Escalante, Land of Sunshine, vol. XII.

[17] Bancroft, op. cit., pp. 200-201.

[18] Bandelier, Final Report, pt. II, pp. 215-216; Bancroft, Arizona and New Mexico, pp. 215-217.

[19] Bancroft, op cit., p. 217.

With the exception of a few months (perhaps a year or so) the Acoma people have lived on the Acoma mesa for many centuries. Long ago they had fields in a valley to the north (as Espejo noted), but there were no houses there until after the danger of raids by Navahos had passed. Forty or fifty years ago there were only a few small houses at Acomita, and these were but temporary shelters for workers in the fields. With the passing of danger, the dwellings were built larger and families came down from old Acoma to live. At first the houses at Acomita were built high up on the side of a steep mesa, partly from habit and partly from fear. These old houses are still used; people climb laboriously up and down the mesa with burdens of water, provisions, etc., when they could live on the level below if they wished. At times their conservatism seems to be organic, below the level of thought entirely.

The layout of the pueblo of old Acoma is shown in the accompanying diagram. The houses are built on the bare surface of the rock. They are arranged in three long rows, with a few scattered between these and the church. They are for the most part three stories high. All houses in the rows face south. The top floor is used as a living room; cooking is done here on a fireplace. The bottom floor is used as a storeroom. The middle floor is used partly as a sleeping-living room and partly as a storeroom. Until recently there were no openings in the walls of the rooms on the ground floor; one ascended ladders to the upper floors and then went down ladders through trapdoors to the floors below.[20] There is very little American furniture in the old houses, although at Acomita and in a few of the homes of "progressives" at old Acoma there are stoves, tables, chairs, beds, cupboards, etc. In a few of the walls facing the north there are small pieces of gypsum which admit light into the dark rooms; on the south side there are windows and doors. Ovens are built on the roofs of the first terrace or in the streets. Piles of wood are placed on roof terraces or on the ground near by.

There is a cistern on the north side of the village. The path leading to it has been worn down to a depth of an inch and a half in places by hundreds of years of use by bare and moccasined feet. On the south mesa there is a great reservoir. It never goes dry, and the water is always cold and clear.

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[20] See Mindeleff, A Study of Pueblo Architecture: Tusayan and Cibola, p. 116.

There are no toilets or outhouses at Acoma; people go out to the edge of the mesa where they are sheltered by bushes or large rocks in the daytime, but at night they very frequently use the street, or after daybreak the roof terraces. So far as sanitation is concerned, however, it is probably much better not to have outhouses where filth would be preserved for flies. The sun and wind dry, scorch, and sterilize everything very quickly.

The rooms of the dwellings are usually very neat and orderly. The walls are plastered white. Pictures of Christ, virgins, girls showing the benefits of certain cold creams, Indian boys and girls at Government schools, etc., are found on the walls in numbers. In one house I noted a small bowl of corn flour and an arrowhead on a ledge by the door. Rifles, deer and antelope horns, moccasins etc. hang on the walls. Sheep pelts are placed on the floor.

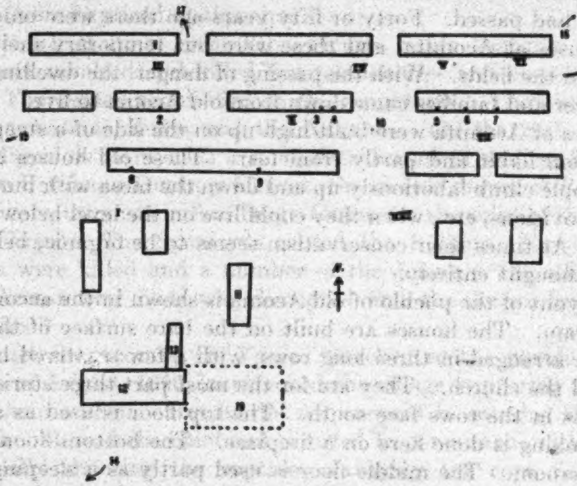

FIGURE 1.—Key to diagram of Acoma pueblo

[The roman numerals indicate the location of the dancing places used in Natyati.]

1, Chamber of the Fire Society. 2, Dant'k'ori·ts estufa. 3, Kock'sai·ts estufa. 4, Corn clan's house. 5, Coska·ts estufa. 6, Taitcinic k'a'atc, or Mauharots, the "head estufa." 7, Haimatats' estufa. 8, Cacique's house. 9, Cutrini·ts estufa. 10, Plaza. 11, Komanira. 12, Church. 13, Convento. 14, Horse trail. 15, Foot trail. 16, Foot trail. 17, To water reservoir. 18, To Masewi's Rock. 19, Graveyard.

Both Bandelier and Mindeleff state that there are six kivas at Acoma.[21] But, unfortunately, we do not know exactly what this means. The term k'aatc at Acoma is used to designate the five chambers of the five kachina groups, and also for Mauharote, the "head estufa" (the chamber of the cacique and the Antelope clan), and the chamber of the Fire society.[33] There are seven chambers, then, at Acoma called k'aatc. In outward appearance they are alike, rectangular rooms on the ground floor, set in among dwellings. They are said to be similar inside, too, except that in Mauharots there is a tsιwai'mιtyιm (a plank placed over a resonance chamber in the floor). (See fig. 2, p. 73.) I feel that there "should be" six kachina chambers at Acoma instead of five; this would resemble the six kivas at Zuñi. Whether the six kivas reported by Bandelier and Mindeleff imply six kachina chambers or not is an important question, the solution of which would be of great moment.

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[21] Bandelier, Final Report, pt. I, p. 268; Mindeleff, op. cit., pp. 116 and 207.

In the south wall of each k'aatc there is a hole about 8 inches in diameter; it is placed about 20 inches from the ground. Into these holes corn meal is thrown with prayers by people who pass through the streets at night. The ladders which lean against the kivas are much longer than the ladders of the dwellings, and they have a crosspiece at the top which is carved in a shape suggesting arrows or lightning symbols.

Every person has a Spanish (or American) name, but while the young people know these names, some of the old folks do not. I was buying some pottery from some old women at old Acoma and leaving it there for a day or so when I could take it away. I asked (through an interpreter) what their names were, and they told me their Indian names. Fearing that I would forget them I asked for their Spanish names. They laughed and seemed slightly embarrassed. They said that they had Spanish names, but that they could not remember what they were. Kinship terms are usually used when conversing with one another, and sometimes the native name, but Spanish or American names are almost never used except when speaking to an American or a Mexican. I knew of two brothers whose last names were quite different; one was Spanish, the other English. I learned that these boys had received their names when they had gone away to school; their teacher named them, not knowing that they were brothers.

Many of the old people have never been more than a few miles from the reservation. I know of some old men and women who have never been to Albuquerque. Last summer one old lady made her first visit to Albuquerque. I gathered from reports of her behavior there that she was quite overcome by that little city. What seemed to distress her most was her inability to orient herself with reference to the cardinal points; the sun seemed to her to rise in the south. Some people, however, have traveled considerably; these are mostly men. Some of the older men went to Carlisle, Pa.; one or two were in France with the American Expeditionary Forces, some were at an exposition in San Diego, and others have worked for the Santa Fe

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[33] At San Felipe and at Santo Domingo the kivas are called tci'kya.

Railroad at various places. But I could never see that any prestige was attached to travel. On the contrary, I have learned of instances where old people strenuously discouraged young men from leaving the reservation.

In addition to the old mission at old Acoma, there is a small Catholic church at Acomita. Mass is held at old Acoma once a year (on San Estevan's Day, September 2), but once a month (or perhaps once in two months) a priest visits Acomita for religious services. Few attend these services, and the congregation is preponderantly female and juvenile. Many people are married by the priest, and quite a number of children are baptized, but I know of only one instance in which burial ceremonies were performed by a priest. This was the case of a death in the family of a "progressive." The pueblo fathers refused to allow the body to be interred in the church yard (where all burials are made). But the father of the child said that he would not bury his child there anyway. My impression from talking to the Acoma people about God and Christ is that they believe they are supernaturals with power, but, somewhat like the gods of other pueblos and the Navahos, they are not very close to the Acoma people. San Estevan, though, seemed to belong to old Acoma.

A man of about 50 told me the following: He "did not believe in" the kachinas or the medicine men; he thought he believed in Cristo. One night he had a dream. He dreamed he had died and had gone to heaven. He found himself before God. He could not remember exactly how God looked, but he seemed to resemble in appearance and dress a successful American business man. He was in an office, seated behind a desk "just like in a bank." The Indian stood before God at his desk. God asked him, "Where's your license?" (meaning, "Where is the sign that you have the right to enter heaven?"). The Indian had a Bible and showed it to God. God said, "No; that's not your license. This is your license," and he showed the Indian a prayer stick.[23] God told him that the Bible was the white man's license. Then the Indian looked around and he saw different kinds of Indians there; some were Apaches, some Pueblos. God told him that the prayer stick was the Indian's license. I tried to learn what the Indian thought and felt about his dream, but it was very difficult. He said he didn't know, but that he guessed the dream was right; he seemed to feel that the white man's things were for the white man and the Indian had his own things.

Farming is the chief occupation at Acoma, although sheep are raised in rather large numbers and cattle to a lesser extent. Corn, alfalfa, wheat, beans, and chili are the chief crops; melons, onions, squash, and some fruits and vegetables are also grown. Potatoes are not cultivated; they say they won't grow. I never heard of anyone trying to raise potatoes, though, except one family near McCartys, who were quite successful. I never saw any hogs on the reservation. There are quite a number of chickens at Acomita and McCartys, and a few turkeys. There are nearly always a number of goats with the sheep flocks. Wool and pottery are about the only products sold; practically everything else is for home consumption. The wool is sold at a trading post at Cubero (a Mexican village near the reservation); pottery is sold to tourists along the highway at McCartys and at the railroad station at New Laguna, as well as at the trading post. The traders at the post make a great margin of profit from every transaction; the Indians are exploited in an outrageous manner.[24]

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[23] Compare Dumarest, p. 172.

At Acomita there is a small store run by an Acomita family where a few articles, such as tobacco, jars of jelly, crackers, etc., are sold, but it is of little consequence.

Corn and mutton are the chief foods. Mutton is hung out on a line, like so many shirts, to cure in the sun. Stews are made, often, of mutton, very highly seasoned with chili peppers. No cow's milk is used. Chewing gum and soda pop are very popular. Alcoholic drinks are not used. Mexicans who sell mula blanca occasionally to the Indians are hunted and prosecuted (if caught on the reservation), and Indians who drink liquor are punished. Very little is consumed.

Men and women, and children who are old enough, work in the fields. The men do most of the heavy field work, but women often perform the same tasks at planting and harvesting. The women do most of the garden work, although the men share this, too. Grinding corn and wheat, cooking, household work, etc., of course, fall to the women. At house building, the men erect the walls and do the heavy work; the women do the plastering.

Little machinery is used. There are some mowing machines and rakes, but no cultivators, corn grinders, or corn shellers. The Indian office at Albuquerque once sent a small threshing machine to Acomita to use in threshing their wheat, but they refused to use it and asked to have it taken away from the reservation. Wheat is threshed out by driving ponies round and round in a corral, tramping on the grain. Chaff, straw, and grain are then thrown in the air with forks to blow the chaff away. The grain is then rewinnowed with trays.

Sheep are tended by men and boys. They often take their sheep to a considerable distance from the pueblo, often remaining away for weeks at a time. They live in little camps while out on the range.

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[24] For example, an Indian wished to buy a machine from the trader who asked $125 for it. The Indian went to Albuquerque (where another trader tried to charge him over $100, until he found out that the Indian had a white friend in town who knew what prices were) and bought the machine, shipped it by freight to Acomita at a total cost of $81.75. Other articles are sold in the same way. I asked why the Indians allowed this, and the young man who had bought the machine said that the Indians didn't know any better. The 1927 governor could not speak English.

They have burros to carry their tent, bedding, and supplies when they move.

Property is owned by both men and women. Some own houses and some women own herds of sheep. Property is divided among the children at death. Theoretically, all land is communally owned, but each farm is said to "belong" to some particular family. This means that they are using it and that they have the right to continue to use it, but should they neglect the land and allow it to lie idle some one else may ask the cacique to allot the land to him. And the cacique has the authority to do this. Recently, however, a family left the reservation. The head of the family "sold" his land to other men in Acomita. He said he had a right to do this because he had spent much money and labor in improving the land, clearing it of brush, rocks, etc., and in fencing it. And he did receive compensation for it. The grazing land is communal; the flocks of various families wander about over the range almost at random. By mutual recognition of "rights" which have crystallized from habit, conflicts over choice grazing lands are avoided. All other property is owned by individuals (except the communal buildings at old Acoma, of course).

The boys like to sing. They sing often in the evening while riding through the valley or at some house. New songs are frequently composed; almost anyone may (and often does) compose a song. Favorites are learned by others and are kept for dances. Sometimes boys (young men) gather at a house in the evening to practice songs. Girls do not sing like this.

There are one or two phonographs among them, but they are not popular. The Government farmer once had a radio which interested them slightly, not because of the music but to determine how the sounds were produced. They refused to believe that the music they heard was transmitted from Denver, Los Angeles, etc.; they insisted that "there must be something inside" the box which made the music. Witch-fighting medicine men they could believe in, but not radio.

KIN AND CLAN

There are 14 clans at Acoma at the present time.[23] The clans are exogamous; one must marry outside his clan. This rule, however, is becoming a trifle lax nowadays, as we shall see shortly. Descent is reckoned in the maternal line. The 14 clans are here listed in order of size:

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[23] Hodge, in the Handbook of American Indians, lists, in addition to these, the *Blue, *Brown, and White Corn, Snake, *Buffalo, *Fire, and Ant clans. Those marked with an asterisk he lists as extinct. He fails to mention the Tansy Mustard clan. The White Corn, Snake, and Ant clans, then, have become extinct quite recently. The last member of the Snake clan died only two or three years ago.

Eagle	167	Antelope	26
Sun	140	Water	20
Bear	112	Sky	18
Yellow Corn	91	Pumpkin	15
Parrot	70	Turkey	13
Red Corn	66	Tansy Mustard	11
Oak	47		
Road Runner	30	Total	826

I made a census of 205 marriages, showing the clan affiliation of each person. Table 1 gives the data for 194 of these marriages. Table 2 lists the marriages in which non-Acoma persons are involved. Table 3 lists the husbands and wives for each clan.

TABLE 1.—MARRIAGES SHOWING CLAN AFFILIATIONS

Men	Women													
	Sun	Red Corn	Yellow Corn	Antelope	Bear	Road Runner	Sky	Water	Eagle	Oak	Tansy Mustard	Parrot	Turkey	Pumpkin
Pumpkin	1	1	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Turkey	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Parrot	0	1	1	0	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Tansy Mustard	4	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Oak	4	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	0
Eagle	7	2	4	3	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	2	0	0
Water	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Sky	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Road Runner	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
Bear	6	1	2	0	0	1	1	0	5	1	0	2	0	1
Antelope	3	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
Red Corn	9	1	1	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	2
Sun	7	3	5	2	11	1	1	3	14	3	0	2	0	0
Yellow Corn	1	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	6	2	0	0	0	0

NOTE.—The vertical column on the left refers to men; the clan list across the top refers to women. For example, 2 Eagle clan men married Bear clan women; 2 Road Runner clan women married Red Corn clan men.

TABLE 2.—ALIEN MARRIAGES

	Cases	
Mexican husband	1	Lives on reservation.
Hopi husband	2	Both live on reservation.
Zuñi husband	1	Lives on reservation.
Mexican-Navaho husband	1	Lives on reservation.
White husband	2	1 lives on reservation.
White wives	3	None lives on reservation.
Jemez wife	1	Lives on reservation.
	11	
Husbands	7	6 live on reservation.
Wives	4	1 lives on reservation.

TABLE 3.—HUSBANDS AND WIVES OF EACH CLAN

Clan	Husbands	Wives	Total	In order of size
Sun	51	45	96	Eagle.
Eagle	23	39	62	Sun.
Bear	20	24	44	Bear.
Yellow Corn	14	23	37	Yellow Corn.
Red Corn	21	14	35	Parrot.
Oak	13	7	20	Red Corn.
Parrot	7	12	19	Oak.
Antelope	11	7	18	Road Runner.
Pumpkin	10	4	14	Antelope.
Road Runner	7	6	13	Water.
Sky	3	7	10	Pumpkin.
Tansy Mustard	8	1	9	Sky.
Water	5	4	9	Turkey.
Turkey	1	1	2	Tansy Mustard.
Total	194	194	388	

TABLE 4.—MARRIAGES BETWEEN CLANS

I	II		III
Sun	Eagle	21	Sun.
Sun	Bear	17	Eagle.
Sun	Red Corn	12	Bear.
Yellow Corn	Eagle	10	Yellow Corn.
Antelope	Eagle	8	Red Corn.
Sun	Oak	7	Oak.
Bear	Eagle	7	
Sun	Yellow Corn	6	
Sun	Antelope	5	
Pumpkin	Yellow Corn	5	
Sun	Water	5	
Oak	Yellow Corn	4	
Pumpkin	Red Corn	3	
Red Corn	Yellow Corn	3	

NOTE.—There were 21 marriages between members of the Sun clan and members of the Eagle clan; 5 between the Antelope clan and the Sun clan, etc. Column III lists a few clans in order of number of married persons. The Sun clan with the greatest number of persons married heads the list.

Is there a moiety division based upon marriage? One would not expect to find such a division at Acoma, but any proofs of its nonexistence are to be welcomed. Table 4 lists clans between which there have been marriages; i. e., in Column II the clan name is placed opposite the clan name in Column I between which there have been marriages. They are listed in order of numerical frequencies, the greatest number being at the head of the list. It will be noticed that clans which show the greatest number of between-clan marriages are also the largest clans, which argues that numerical preponderance rather than psychological affinity accounts for the marriages. To go further, suppose we apply the laws of chance to the marriages between the Sun and Eagle clans, for example. There are 62 Eagle clan members with mates. Excluding these from the total of married people (388), we have 326 people from which the Eagle people may choose mates, of which the Sun people number 96, or one in three. If the marriages were contracted at random (i. e., without regard to clan affiliation other than Eagle), an Eagle clan member would have one chance in three of getting a Sun clan mate, which for the 62 Eagle people would give 21 marriages with the Sun clan. Or, suppose we take the marriages between the Sun clan and the Red Corn clan. Excluding the 96 Sun clan members from the total of 388, we have 292 from which they may choose mates. The Red Corn people are represented in this number, 292, in the proportion of one to eight. If, then, the Sun clan members married according to this ratio, they would marry 12 Red Corn clan members, which again corresponds to the actual number. But, of course, one must not expect the law of probability to be validated in each instance. If one figures the marriages between the Yellow Corn clan and the Eagle clan, for example, he gets 7 marriages instead of 10. But as the clans grow smaller in size the law of probability becomes less illuminating because of the great increase in the range of choice for members of the small clans.

We now have two items of testimony, then, which make the existence of a moiety division highly improbable. We can now offer complete and absolute proof of its nonexistence in this way: Suppose we take the clans between which marriages are quite numerous, and assume that they belong to opposite moieties or phratries, and list them accordingly in two columns (as we have done in Table 4). We soon find that it is impossible not to include a given clan in both columns. Moreover, there are marriages between clans comprising each column which we do not show in this table, but which may be ascertained from Table 1. The assumption of a moiety division based upon marriage, then, is completely demolished by our data.

Of course, there are some clans which do not mate with some other clans. But this is to be explained by their size; there are not enough Water clan adults to mate with all the other clans, nor enough Sky, Tansy Mustard, or Turkey clan members.

Nevertheless, it still might be possible that one clan might have a traditional prohibition against marriage with another clan. However, I feel very sure that nothing of this kind exists. Size of clan and the laws of chance are, I believe, adequate to account for the marriages between the clans.

Returning for a moment to Table 2, it is to be noted that of the 11 aliens, 7 are husbands; there is only 1 alien Indian wife, whereas there are 3 or 4 (I do not know whether the Navaho half-breed was reared with the Navahos or the Mexicans) alien Indian husbands. Of the white wives of Acoma men, there was 1 white wife who lived on the reservation for a time, but she has gone. Only 1 white husband is living on the reservation, and he is tolerated (I believe) only because he is ill.

Table 1 shows a number of marriages within the Sun clan. This, according to my informant, is due chiefly to the fact that quite a number of Sun clan people originally came from Santo Domingo and from Zia. (When this immigration took place, the number of immigrants, the reason for their change of residence, etc., were not learned.) But it is also due, in part at least, to the weakening of the traditional observance of clan exogamy; a number of the younger people speak of it as being "old-time ways," something not to be held sacred.

With the cases of alien husbands, the children would, of course, belong to the clan of the mother. Unfortunately, I did not learn the status of children born to alien mothers. I believe that children born to white women (or even Mexican) would not be considered Acoma people. I was told that the children born to the woman from Jemez (or any woman from another pueblo) would belong to her clan. If her clan corresponded to one in the village where she married she would join that clan. If her clan had no equivalent in her husband's pueblo she would start a new clan. (However, this whole matter should receive further study.)

Regarding marriage with non-Acoma persons, I received the impression quite decidedly that marriage outside the pueblo is not to be encouraged, even with other pueblos, and marriage with whites or Mexicans is disapproved of.

Clan property.—There is no clan property as such. All property is held and transmitted by individuals as members of a family group. Both men and women own property and may transmit it to their offspring.

Clan and officials.—The cacique must always be a member of the Antelope clan. This is the only instance of this kind; all other officers are selected without regard to clan affiliation. This holds true for the secret societies as well.

Clans and ceremonies.—Because of the cacique, the Antelope clan plays a prominent rôle in a number of ceremonies, particularly those in which the k'atsina are impersonated. These instances will be described fully in the sections devoted to ceremonies. The Corn clans have a ceremony of their own, the one in which Curatca lights the fires. In olden days the Parrot clan and the Pumpkin clan had charge of salt gathering. There are no other instances of special rôles played by clans.[26]

Clan and initiation, marriage, sickness, and death.—A clansman frequently assists at the initiation of a boy into the kachina cult or into a medicine society. During sickness and at death the clan members usually assist, with their presence, by grinding meal, contributing gifts, etc. The clan plays no special rôle in marriage. (See sections on Initiation, Sickness, Death, etc.)

Clan and labor.—Members of a clan frequently come together at house building, wheat cutting, corn grinding, etc. But it is not really a formal clan affair but rather a communal task in which several related family groups cooperate.

Kinship terms are given in Table 5.

Summary of kin and clan.—The family is a rather loose unit, separation being not uncommon (in spite of the Catholic rule against it), and illegitimacy quite common.

The chief function of the clan at Acoma is to regulate marriage. Apart from the Antelope clan, the rôle played by clans in ceremonies is very meager.[27] Nor is election to office or membership in a secret society determined by clan affiliation, with the exception of the cacique. The functions performed by clan members at such times as initiations, sickness, death, etc., and during the performance of communal tasks, are not prominent; they are not regarded as preeminently clan activities; they belong primarily to the stratum of kinship.

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[26] One informant stated that other clans have been the "head" clans at previous times. The first was s'ca-ni (all kinds of grass and seeds). The next were hak'ani (lots of coals burning), and dya'nyi (deer). The close relationship between the Antelope clan at Acoma and the kachina organization is interesting in the light of data from Laguna and Zuñi. In these villages there is a special relationship between the Antelope (or Deer) clan and the Badger clan and the kachina organization. (The Badger clan has not been found at Acoma.) At Laguna, Doctor Parsons states (in Notes on Ceremonialism at Laguna, p. 109), the kachina dancers were led by Badger or Antelope clansmen. Also, she states (in footnote 7, p. 108): "Nowadays at Laguna masks would be made only by the Badger and Antelope clans." Referring to Fewkes (Tusayan Totemic Signatures, American Anthropologist, vol. 10, no. 1, 1897), Doctor Parsons states that among the Hopi "the chief of the k'atsina priesthood was a Badger clansman." (Footnote 8, p. 108, Notes on Ceremonialism at Laguna.) At Zuñi the director of the kachina organization and his warrior (Kopitlashiwanni, "god bow priest") must be of the Deer clan. The Kopekwin, or deputy (literally "god speaker"), of the director (or Komosona), and his warrior must be of the Badger clan. (See Kroeber, Zuñi Kin and Clan, p. 168.) The association of the Antelope clan at Acoma, then, seems to be definitely a western feature; I have not found any such relationship at Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Zia, Santa Ana, nor is it to be found at Cochiti.

[27] See Parsons, E. C., The Antelope Clan in Keresan Custom and Myth, Man, vol. 17, art. no. 131. London, 1917.

TABLE 5.—KINSHIP TERMS

Father=sa naicᴅi'a (my father).
Mother=nai'ya.
Son=sa mit' (my son).
Daughter=sa ma·ak'.
Brother=dyu'm·ᵃ.
Sister=tc'itc'i.
Father's brother=naicᴅi'a.
Father's sister=nai'ya.
Father's father=na·na.
Father's mother=ʙanaᵃ.
Father's brother's wife=nai'ya.
Father's sister's husband=nai'cᴅia.
Father's brother's son=dyum'ᵃ.
Father's brother's daughter=(sa)k'uitc'.
Father's sister's son=(Sa) dyum'ᵃ.
Father's sister's daughter=(Sa) k'uitc'.
Mother's mother=(Sa) ʙanaᵃ.
Mother's father=(Sa) na·na.
Mother's brother=Sa'nawe.
Mother's sister=Sa nai'ya.
Mother's brother's wife=Sa k'uitc'.
Mother's sister's husband=Nai'cᴅia.
Mother's brother's son=sa mit'.
Mother's brother's daughter=Sa ma·ak'.
Mother's sister's son=Sa dyu'mᵃ.
Mother's sister's daughter=Sa k'uitc'.
Brother's wife=Sa Bi'yₑ.
Brother's son=sa mit'.
Brother's daughter=Sa ma·ak'.
Brother's son's wife=Bi'yₑ.
Brother's daughter's husband=Wa·ati.
Sister's husband=Sa wa·ati.
Sister's son=Sanawₑ.
Sister's daughter=Si nayatcani (Saawaᵃ).
Sister's son's wife=Bi'yₑ.
Sister's daughter's husband=Wa·at'.
Son's son=Sa na·na.
Son's wife=Sa Bi'yₑ.
Son's daughter=Sa ʙanaᵃ.
Daughter's husband=Sa wa·ati.
Daughter's son=Sa na·na.
Daughter's daughter=Sa ʙanaᵃ.
Nai'cᴅia=Father, father's brother, father's sister's husband, mother's sister's husband.
Nai'ya=Mother, father's sister, father's brother's wife, mother's sister.
Dyu'm·ᵃ=Brother, father's brother's son, father's sister's son, mother's sister's son.
ʙanaᵃ=Father's mother, mother's mother, son's daughter, daughter's daughter.
Na·na=Father's father, mother's father, son's son, daughter's son.
Sa mit'=Son, mother's brother's son, brother's son.
Sa ma·ak'=Daughter, mother's brother's daughter, brother's daughter.
Sa nawₑ=Mother's brother, sister's son.
Sa k'uitc'=Father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, mother's brother's wife, mother's sister's daughter.
Sa ʙi'yₑ=Brother's wife, brother's son's wife, sister's son's wife, son's wife.
Sa wa·ati=Brother's daughter's husband, sister's daughter's husband, daughter's husband, sister's husband.
Tci·tci=Sister.
Si nayatcani (Saawaᵃ)=Sister's daughter.
Man=Hatctsi.
Woman=K'ū.
Boy=Mūtictsa (sing.).
Boy=Crūyet' (coll.).
Girl=Ma·ak'ūtsa.
Baby=Oakᵃ.
Child=Dat'c.
Boy 10 to 16 years=Tca·taka.
Girl about 16=ma·asitra.
Adults (coll.)=Nawaititra.

NOTE.—See list of kinship terms in Doctor Parsons's Laguna Genealogies, p. 147. There is a list, too, on p. 84, Zuñi Kin and Clan, which Professor Kroeber secured from Acoma and Laguna informants. ʙ=intermediate b–p; ᴅ=intermediate d–t.

GOVERNMENT

Political control of the pueblo is exercised by officers and societies. The officers may be divided into two groups, viz, the cacique-war chief group, and the governor with his aides. The latter is of post-

Spanish origin, and is simply a secular arm of the cacique and the war priests. Government at Acoma may be said to be theocratic; the chiefs are priests and their authority is sanctioned by, if not derived from, the deities. Closely associated with the priest-chiefs are the curing societies, and at times the o·pi, or Warriors' Society, and the k'acale (koshare). The societies, especially the medicine societies, exert a great influence in political life, although they do not function directly as administrators.

The officers and societies are the chief custodians of tribal lore, paraphernalia, and ritual, much of it being esoteric in character. Our account of the political functions of these agencies will, naturally, bring us into rather close contact with other than political phases of pueblo life, such as worship, ceremonialism, etc. The functions of the officers are not political alone, but astronomical, ceremonial, agricultural, and ethical as well.

THE CACIQUE.[23]

The cacique is called ha'actitcani (ha'acti means pueblo; the tcani refers to a person; ha'actitcani, then, means a person who symbolizes or represents the whole pueblo). The cacique is the most important individual in the pueblo, the most honored, and most respected. He is regarded as the father of the pueblo. He is also the "father of the k'atsina" (the spirits from Wenimats' who are impersonated by the masked dancers, q. v.). He is always a member of the Antelope clan. He serves from the time of his selection to his death. If old age or blindness should interfere with the performance of his duties, however, another Antelope clan man (or perhaps the war chief) will substitute for him.

The cacique is more priest than chief; he counsels more than he commands. He is the highest religious officer as well as the political head. His duties and functions are as follows: He "watches the sun"; i. e., he determines the times of the solstices. This is, perhaps, his most important ceremonial function. (See section on Solstice Ceremonies.) He sets the dates for practically all ceremonies. The medicine societies set the date for their initiation ceremonies and for private curing ceremonies, but they secure the permission of the cacique for their initiation ceremonies. The cacique decides when general public curing ceremonies are to be held and requests the medicine men to hold them. He decides which kiva groups are to dance in the summer dance. He is host to the masked dancers when they come to give a dance in the plaza, welcoming them when they arrive and thanking them upon their departure. He has an altar (pl. 1, *a*); but since the cacique is not a medicine man (as he is, or may be, in the Rio Grande Keresan pueblos) he may not erect this altar; this must be done by the Kaʙina tcaian[1]. This altar (yaʙaicini) is erected at the solstices and when the children are initiated into the k'atsina cult. The cacique is present at this ceremony. Afterwards the whipped children are assembled behind the church when the cacique tells them about the k'atsina and the masked dancers. The cacique makes and deposits a prayer stick which is different in design from all others in the pueblo. He also instructs the newly appointed war chiefs in the manufacture and use of their prayer sticks. The cacique appoints all officers at the yearly elections (q. v.) and he selects the principales. He makes allotments of land to individuals or to families (q. v.).

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[23] See myth, Antelope Man Brings Back the K'atsina.

Whether the cacique has a "medicine bundle" or "yaya" (mother) or not, I could not learn. Informants felt that "he must have one," and I feel the same way, but exact information on this point was not to be obtained.

It might not be out of place to offer some of my impressions of the present cacique and his position at Acoma. I received the impression from conversations with informants (and some others) that the cacique is the most important and most honored and respected officer in the pueblo; he is the "most sacred." But he is somewhat aloof from the daily life of the people. The war chief, I believe, is the most important officer in the entire pueblo who actually comes into contact with the people and who directs their affairs. And the authority of the war chief is virtually the authority of the cacique. (The situation is somewhat akin to the officers on a man of war: The captain is the supreme authority, but he is a bit remote. It is the executive officer who, wielding the captain's authority, comes into intimate contact with the other officers and men and who directs their activities.) The cacique is a counselor; he is a wise, sympathetic, and just man. His first duty is ever to promote the well-being of his people. His wishes are transmitted to the people through the war chief. It is the latter who commands and directs. The war chief also exercises considerable authority upon his own initiative, as, for example, in the supervision of ritual routines and in the supervision of the behavior of the folk and visiting aliens.

But while the cacique is regarded as the highest of officers, he is not to be distinguished from other men in mode of living. (Except, of course, that he does not work his fields; this is done by the folk under the direction of the war chief.) The cacique is the symbol, so to speak, of a tradition which is very sacred. But there is nothing sacred about the person of the cacique. He lives in a house at old Acoma (he spends all of his time at old Acoma) which is situated in a row of dwellings which are just like his except for color. The cacique's house is plastered with a pinkish color. This, however, is a personal whim of his wife, not a rule of the pueblo.[29] In dress the cacique resembles any other man, and he is treated by the people as any other old man would be.

I had a long talk with the cacique one afternoon at Acoma. There had been some objection to my visits to old Acoma, so I requested to be allowed to see the cacique and tell him what I wanted. I told him that I wished to buy very old pottery to deposit in the museum at Santa Fe to keep tourists from carrying it off to Iowa and Los Angeles where it would be lost to the Acoma people forever. The cacique is an old man and almost blind. He was very kind to me. (It was necessary to use an interpreter.) I did not enter his house; he came outside and we sat in the shade on a ledge of a house. I told him my errand and he approved whole-heartedly and offered to assist me in any way that he could. He said that he would call his officers together and have me tell them, too, but I carefully evaded this, as I did not wish to be questioned and examined too closely. While we were talking the old man sat playing with a lower incisor tooth which was loose; he would run the tip of his right index finger over the end of the tooth, moving it from side to side. Occasionally he would spit—usually on his unbuttoned vest. The translations of his replies reminded me of speeches of courtiers or diplomats in novels of eighteenth century Europe. He was kind, polite, and frequently used appropriate and pleasing figures of speech. To help "his children" seemed to be his chief aim, and since I professed the same desire, he offered to assist me. When I left he shook hands warmly. When I was about 70 feet from his house he called me back; I had not told his wife good-by. (She was plastering the house when I arrived. She wanted to shake hands with me; but as her hands were covered with plaster, she offered me her wrist which I shook.) When the cacique called me I turned to see his wife hastily climbing down the ladder. She washed her hands in a bucket of water and dried them on her apron. She smiled as she shook hands and talked to me in Keresan.

Succession and installation.—When a new cacique is installed a man (always a member of the Antelope clan) is named as his successor. This means, of course, that at any time everyone knows who the next cacique will be. But upon the death of a cacique, his successor is not installed at once. The members of the Antelope clan meet informally, as many times as may be necessary, to select a successor to the cacique who is about to be installed. Usually a year elapses before a new cacique is installed. During this time the duties of cacique are discharged by the man who was successor to the last cacique, assisted by the wife of the deceased and her brothers, if necessary. When the time for installation draws near the Antelope clan people hold a meeting in the Antelope clan house. The successor to the future cacique is definitely decided upon at this time. About eight days later the final meeting of installation is held in Mauharots, the "head estufa" (q. v.). All of the Antelope clan men are present, and the head men of each of the five estufas. The war chiefs may attend if they wish; they usually do attend. At this time the future cacique is formally introduced, together with his successor. The spokesman for the Antelope clan asks the head men of the five estufas when they can be ready to dance for the new cacique. After some deliberation a date is set for the welcoming dance.

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[29] This is what I was told, but we note that the Antelope clan men paint themselves pink during the ceremonial fight with the K'atsina (q. v.).

Four days before the dance a rabbit hunt (q. v.) is held to supply the feast. On this day also each man who is to participate in the dance makes one prayer stick (hatcamíni) with which he prays. From this time until the day of the dance the men practice songs and dances in their estufas and make ready their masks and costumes. The day before the dance each dancer makes a prayer stick and brings it to Mauharots; the sticks are deposited in four baskets. On the evening before the dance the cacique and his assistant go to Mauharots, where they will spend the night. The dancers, too, come to Mauharots with their masks and spend the night there. In the morning, before the dancers leave, the cacique erects his altar. (It will be remembered that another informant stated that the cacique could not erect his own altar, since he was not a medicine man. This is a doubtful point.)

Early in the morning the dancers leave the estufa and go to the plaza to dance. They dance the Gaiya′, or "mixed dance" (i. e., there are many different kinds of k'atsina represented. See section on ceremonies). The cacique and his assistant remain in the head estufa, Mauharots, all day, making herb medicines and praying.

At noon the dancers come into Mauharots, where they eat lunch. They eat the rabbits which were killed in the hunt for this purpose. After lunch they go out again to dance. They dance all day. When they have finished they return to Mauharots. They take off their masks and the cacique gives them some medicine to drink. The head men of the five estufas then take the four baskets of prayer sticks and distribute them to the dancers. Each man takes the stick which he has made. They go out and pray and then go to their own estufas and put their costumes and masks away.

After the dance is over the people of the village are permitted to go into Mauharots and drink some of the medicine that the cacique has made.

The present cacique is named Waiictu (Spanish, Francisco Watchempino). His predecessor, who died about 1918, was named Dzikin (Spanish, Torrivio Josecito). The mother of the present cacique was the sister of the preceding cacique, Dzikin. The successor to the present cacique is Ga·tsi (Spanish, Lorenzo Watchempino). The mother of Ga·tsi is the sister of the present cacique, Waiictu.

THE WAR CHIEFS

There are three war chiefs, known collectively as tsatyao hotceni, or "outside chiefs."[30] The head war chief is called Cutimiti (cuti refers to a brown bird which I was not able to identify; -miti indicates a man). The first assistant war chief is called Cpatimiti, or "mocking bird man." The second assistant war chief is Maiyatcotimiti (which I was unable to translate).

The war chiefs are chosen for a period of one year at the annual elections (q. v.). Three cooks (cocineros) are chosen to cook for them and supply them with ganacaiya (deer meat ground with guayave) with which they pray. The ten little chiefs (q. v.) also assist the war chiefs. The war chiefs are chosen without regard to clan affiliation.

We have already spoken of the war chiefs in our paragraphs on the cacique. They are usually men of considerable force of character and are always vigorous conservatives. They do their utmost to preserve the old traditions intact; they oppose any imitation of white or Mexican customs and deplore lack of interest in the old ways. The war chiefs constitute one of the most vital forces in the pueblo. The duties of the war chiefs include the following: They make visits throughout the year to springs and bring back water; this is supposed to insure a plentiful supply of water for the crops and for drinking during the year. (See section on Installation of War Chiefs for a detailed account of these trips to the springs.) The war chiefs act as agencies for making known to the people the wishes of the cacique.[31] They notify the heads of the kiva groups to prepare for dances. They see that sentinels are posted to prevent aliens from witnessing masked dances, and they assist the cacique in the plaza during the masked ceremonies. They announce the dates for rabbit hunts and superintend them in a general way. They summon the heads of the curing societies when the cacique wishes to have a general public curing ceremony, and they guard the medicine men at all times while they work at their cures to prevent attacks from witches. They keep track of the children who are to be initiated into the kachina organization. Very early in the morning of September 2, when the annual fiesta is held in honor of San Estevan, the patron saint of Acoma, the war chiefs build the little bough house for the saint; they sit in this house all day, and at the close of the dance they thank the dancers and pray. (See section on Ceremonies; the Fiesta Dance.)

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[30] In Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Zia, and Cochiti, there are two war captains. They are called ts' їak'ˈïs and ts'ïak'ïs teniente, or masewi and oyoyewi, respectively.

[31] The practice of making announcements from housetops, found in Rio Grande pueblos, is not observed at Acoma. The crier walks through the streets. War chiefs frequently make announcements in this way or designate someone to do it for them.

Installation of war chiefs.—After the election, the new war chief chooses a place for his headquarters for the coming year. This is usually, but not always, located in his own home. The rooms set aside for the war chiefs are cleaned and replastered. When this is finished all of the paraphernalia which belongs to the office of war chief is brought to the new quarters. Data on this paraphernalia is quite meager. There are pots for cooking, some buckskin shirts, quivers made of mountain lion skin (uictiwactan), and perhaps a yaya, or "mother" (my informant said that he thought the war chief had a round stone with turquoise eyes and mouth, but he was not certain). The outgoing war chief passes to his successor a hatcamuni kaiok' (prayer stick broken).[23] The ex-war chief also orders, just before leaving office, every family in the village to bring a load of wood for the new war chief. This is piled up a short distance north of the seventh dancing station. (See fig. 1.)

The day after the war chiefs move into their new quarters the two lieutenants set out for K'amack'uk'awaiic (Spider Spring), which is southwest of Cakaiya (a large mesa near Acoma), to get wood for prayer sticks. They wear the official buckskin shirts and carry the quivers made of mountain lion skin (uictiwactan). Each carries two yabi (wooden staff; see section on Paraphernalia). One is a rather large staff which is presented at the time of election; the smaller one is kept permanently in the lion-skin quiver. They carry a lunch which was prepared for them by the cocineros (cooks), for the trip takes all day. When they get to the spring they cut the sticks (see section on prayer sticks and their manufacture), singing the while. They tie the sticks into bundles with buckskin. Then they start for home. When they approach close to the house of the war chief, Cutimiti (the head war chief) comes out to meet them, singing. He makes two lines or "roads" of corn meal on the ground along which they walk when they enter the house. The cocineros (cooks) take the prayer sticks.

The next day is spent by the war chiefs in making prayer sticks. In the evening the three chiefs set out for G'otsicpawatsa (Pretty Spring), which lies to the north of Acoma. Each chief carries a prayer stick and a small water jar (cpo·na). When they get to the spring a prayer is said and one jar of water is filled. Then they go to G'anipa, which lies to the southeast. Here another prayer is said and another jar of water is secured. Then they go to G'omi, a spring north of Acoma, where they again repeat this ritual. Then they set out for Acoma.

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[23] I was unable to secure any adequate information concerning this broken prayer stick. It certainly must be different from an ordinary prayer stick, for it is never used in praying as ordinary sticks are. It was said to be the "pole upon which the world rests."

It is about 3 o'clock in the morning when they get back to the village. They ascend the west trail. When they reach the top the two lieutenants go direct to the house of the war chief, taking the jars of water with them. Cutimiti goes to Mauharots, the head estufa. Perhaps there are some medicine men (tcaiani) or Antelope people (kuuts^1 hanotc) sleeping there. Cutimiti goes to the top of the estufa and pauses at the entrance. He removes the cover and calls below: "Guatzi, ckanaicᴅia, ckanaiya, cko·tceni dyaimi tutietco!" (Guatzi, hello! The next three words refer, respectively, to fathers, mothers, and chiefs; the last two are interpreted as asking permission to enter.) The people respond, "Ha ai! No icomekuta," which was translated "Yes, it is you yourself. Come in." If there happen to be any medicine women present, they say, "Ha o" instead of "Ha ai." (Ordinarily ha means yes.) In talking with the informant about this exchange of salutations I got the notion that the war chief saluted the occupants of the estufa as hotcenis or chiefs, and they, in their reply, politely implied that he was their superior.

The war chief descends the ladder into the estufa. He goes to the northeast corner near the altar. There is a hole in the floor at this place called G'auwatseicoma (which is the gateway to Shipap, the place of emergence. It is said that souls or spirits pass down through this hole after death on their journey back to Shipap). Cutimiti carries four waʙani (waʙani, a long eagle feather with four small feathers attached to it; see section on paraphernalia) with him. He prays to the four directions, to the heavenly bodies, to the rivers and lakes, to the plants and animals, to the k'atsina, k'oʙictaiya, etc. He deposits the waʙani in the hole in the floor, turns to the left, passes to the west of the fireplace, and leaves the estufa. As he goes out the people who are passing the night there advise him and encourage him in the performance of his duties.

After leaving Mauharots the head war chief (Cutimiti) goes to the east edge of the mesa to Masewi k'am (Masewi, his home; a rock under which the spirit of the elder war twin lives), where he prays. Then he goes to the very edge of the mesa, where he prays to the sun which is about to rise. When he has finished he walks up and down the village streets calling to the people. He tells them that Ocatc (the sun), the father, is coming and that they should get up and pray to him. Everyone comes outdoors and prays to the sun, sprinkling corn meal toward him.[33] The head war chief (Cutimiti) goes now to his house. The two lieutenant war chiefs have taken the jars of water out at sunrise and have emptied them into the pools. That day is spent in rest.

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[33] I was told that nearly everyone does come out for this prayer; even children are brought out of bed by their parents for this purpose.

The next day they make more prayer sticks. That night they go to the west, as two nights before they went north, with their prayer sticks (hatcamuni) and water jars. After praying at the springs and filling their jars with water, they return to the pueblo. This time it is Cpatimīti (the first assistant war chief) who goes to Mauharots to pray and, later, to rouse the people of the pueblo to pray to the rising sun. The next day is one of rest. On the day following they make prayer sticks for the third time, and in the evening they set out to the south, where they fill their jars at springs. Maiyatcotimīti, the second lieutenant war chief, goes to the head estufa (Mauharots) upon their return. After a day of rest, they make prayer sticks and for the fourth time visit springs for water, this time going to the east. The head war chief, Cutimīti, goes to Mauharots when they get back, after which, as usual, the people are roused for the prayer to the sun. The cycle is now complete.

The formal initition of the war chiefs is to take place four days after the completion of the above circuit. The cacique requests the new war chief to inform the kaʙina tcaiani (member of the kaʙina curing society) of this fact. Cutimīti (the head war chief) takes waʙani (q. v.) to the kaʙina tcaiani with prayers and gives him the cacique's message. The kaʙina tcaiani secures the assistance of one of the young hictiani tcaiani (Flint Society medicine man [34]). On the day before the initiation, kaʙina tcaiani erects his altar in Mauharots (see references to kaʙina tcaiani; also section on kivas). The altar consists of two fetishes placed in an east-and-west line. The one on the east end is called tsamai'ye; the other is named tsamahi'a.[35] They were made of buckskin with feathers at the top. In front of the altar were placed flints, fetishes of stone, and a large stone lion in the middle.

Kaʙina tcaiani and his assistant go to Mauharots (the "head estufa") early in the morning of the initiation day and begin to sing. Food is brought into the estufa and placed before the altar. Anyone may attend the initiation, even women. The initiation ceremony consists chiefly in a whipping which is administered to the candidates, much as the children are whipped when they are initiated into the kachina organization. The initiation ceremony lasts all day, and anyone who wishes to be whipped may come in for that purpose. Many people wish to be whipped at this time because they believe that the whipping will give them strength, either physical or spiritual, or give them luck in hunting, racing, or gambling.

The war chief comes into the estufa wearing only a breechcloth (and a blanket thrown over him, which he removes upon entering the estufa); he is barefooted. He goes to each of the standards of the altar and prays. Into each standard he inserts a haʙi (a feather; see section on paraphernalia). Then he steps onto the tsiwaimityim (the planks over the cavity in the floor; see section on kivas). kaʙina and his assistant are standing on opposite ends of this tsiwaimityim. Each holds a whip of about 10 switches (howaipᵃ). The tcaiani (medicine men) begin to sing and dance. At the end of the song they stop and cry, "Do-o-o-wa-a-a-ra-a-a Hio! Hio!" Then the chief faces the altar. The medicine man at the east end strikes the candidate forcibly on the shins with his whip; the one on the other end strikes him on the shoulders. Then they sing and dance again, and when finished strike him again. This is done four times. The medicine man on the east end whips upward, striking first the shins, then the thighs, then the belly, and last the chest. The other medicine man whips downward, striking first the shoulders, then the middle of the back, the back of the thighs, and last the calves of the legs. This covers the candidate pretty thoroughly.

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[34] As will be noted in the section devoted to the curing societies, there was only one member of the kaʙina medicine society alive in the summer of 1926. He died that fall without initiating any new members. The society therefore has become extinct at Acoma. Since his death his functions have been taken over by the Flint Society (the hictiani tcaiani).

[35] See Parsons, Notes on Ceremonialism at Laguna, p. 119.

The three outgoing chiefs are whipped in this way, together with their two cooks; the three incoming chiefs are whipped, but the incoming cooks are spared. And anyone else who wishes to be whipped may undergo the same ceremony.

The war chiefs remain in the estufa all day. Toward evening everyone leaves except the new war chiefs, the kaʙina tcaiani and his assistant, and perhaps a few other medicine men. It is now time to administer medicine to the new chiefs. The kaʙina tcaiani has some feces of a snake (tsitcuni); it looks like chalk. He grinds a little of this in his medicine bowl and pours in some water. Then he sings six songs, moving the bowl toward each of the cardinal points, up and down, as they progress. The bowl is then placed between the standards. Kaʙina then asks the two lieutenant war chiefs if they wish to take this medicine. They have the privilege of refusing, but Cutimiti (the head chief) must drink it. If the lieutenants refuse then kaʙina tcaiani and one or two of the other medicine men will probably drink some "to keep the war chief company." This medicine is supposed to give one great strength and also the ability to foretell events through dreams. The chiefs remain in the estufa for four days and four nights. No one may touch them during this time, nor do they touch each other, not even their blankets, for "they are so powerful." The altar remains standing during this time. Food is brought to the chiefs by their wives during this period of seclusion. The tsamai'ye and the tsamahi'ye (the two altar fetishes) are given food at each meal, and a cigarette afterwards. The outgoing war chiefs are finished with their duties after the whipping, and after a period of 12 hours they may again sleep with their wives. (The war chiefs may not sleep with their wives during the whole year of their service in office.)

After the war chiefs have rested for a few days they again make the circuit of the springs just as they did before their whipping. When the circuit of the four directions has again been completed an interval of eight days' rest follows. From then on to the end of the year the war chiefs take turns going singly to the springs of the four directions (according to the chart below). They do not bring water back to the pueblo, but they do go to Mauharots (the "head estufa") to pray when they return, after which they summon the people to pray to the rising sun.[26]

Summary of war chiefs.—There can be no doubt regarding the importance of the rôle played by the war chiefs at Acoma; they are virtually the backbone of the spiritual and institutional life of the pueblo. Specifically their chief function is to promote the rain supply, which is really the most vital thing in pueblo life. Secondly, they protect the medicine societies and oppose witches. But in general they are vigilant overseers of the whole range of daily life, doing their best to preserve the old customs and to oppose the encroachment of aliens, especially whites and Mexicans.

The position of war chief is loaded with responsibility, exacting in its observance of many difficult routines and rituals, and demands unbroken sexual continence. And there is no compensation, except honor and enhanced status; they receive neither money nor goods for their services. (See section on elections.)

CALENDAR OF INSTALLATION OF WAR CHIEFS

1. They move into their new quarters.
2. Next day they get wood for prayer sticks.
3. Next day they make prayer sticks; go north that night.
4. Next day rest.
5. Next day make prayer sticks; go west.
6. Next day rest.
7. Next day make prayer sticks; go south.
8. Next day rest.
9. Next day make prayer sticks; go east.
10. Four days from this time they are whipped.
11. Remain in estufa four days and four nights after initiation.
12. Few days' rest.
13. Nos. 3 to 9, inclusive, are repeated.
14. An interval of eight days elapses.
15. Cutimiti goes north at night.
16. Interval of eight days.
17. Cpatimiti goes west at night.
18. Interval of eight days.
19. Maiyatcotimiti goes south at night.
20. Interval of eight days.
21. Cutimiti goes east.

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[26] There is no ceremony of installation of war chiefs among the eastern Keres; certainly nothing like the Acoma ceremony. (White, Leslie A., Manuscripts on Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Zia, and Santa Ana.)

And so on through the year, officers rotating in this order and visiting the cardinal points in the order named.

THE O'PI, OR WARRIORS' SOCIETY [37]

This society of warriors is now extinct at Acoma, and data concerning it are meager and rather vague. However, the impression was given by informants that the opi, together with the war chiefs, were in complete charge of the pueblo during war times. And the warriors were assisted by the medicine men who gave them "power." It seems, then, that the ordinary administration of peace times yielded to a war-time rule in times of trouble.

THE KOSHARE [37]

There is another instance in which the ordinary administrative organization of the pueblo was suspended. This was at the time of the initiation of koshare and the execution of the scalp dance. At this time the koshare had complete charge of the pueblo. (See Koshare, Scalp Dance.)

These two instances of the opi and the koshare assuming temporary control of the administration of the village are interesting examples of pueblo government, its many-sidedness and versatility.

THE THREE COOKS

We have already spoken of the cooks at some length; there is little else to be said. The cooks provide the war chiefs with a lunch when they go out at night or when they leave for the day. It is their business to make the ganacaiya (ground deer or rabbit meat mixed with guayave) for the prayers. The cooks go up on top of the war chief house when they have made some ganacaiya and pray with it themselves (sprinkling it as they pray). They have charge of all foods that are collected or issued for communal ceremonial feasts. (See Ceremonies for further references.)

THE "LITTLE CHIEFS"

There are 10 of these tcukacac hotceni, or "little chiefs." (They are sometimes called tcaikats' also.) They are appointed by the cacique.[38] They are really helpers for the war chief. They carry wood from the war chief's woodpile to the houses of women who are baking bread for the war chief. They also distribute corn and wheat from the war chief's store to houses about the village to have it ground for some feast. Before ceremonies they are frequently sent around the village by the war chief to collect meat for a feast. They also assist the war chiefs in guarding the entrance of estufas when important ceremonies are taking place, especially the curing ceremonies of the medicine societies.

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[37] See chapter on ceremonialism.

[38] I am not sure whether these little chiefs are appointed for one year or for some other period of time. I understood that they did not serve after reaching maturity. One informant stated that the war chiefs were frequently selected from the ranks of ex-"little chiefs"; another stated that a war chief must have served as a "little chief." These little chiefs resemble the Go'watcany of Santo Domingo and San Felipe.—White, mss.

THE PRINCIPALES

There are 10 principales, chosen to serve for life by the cacique.[39] Although their duties are not very explicit, their influence in pueblo affairs is very great indeed. In general, their duty is to watch over the pueblo and "see that everything goes all right," which means, of course, that the old customs will be observed and innovations and deviations will be discouraged. They meet with the governor and also with the cacique, the war chiefs and the medicine men, and their counsel usually carries considerable weight. It is this wide range of function (i. e., working with the governor and his lieutenants on the one hand and the cacique, war chiefs, and medicine men on the other) that serves to coordinate and unify the administration of the pueblo.

THE MEDICINE SOCIETIES

These groups are, of course, curing societies; their major function is to cure (and to prevent) sickness. But they also exercise a profound influence upon the political life of the pueblo. They are always staunch supporters of the old tradition, and the "moral" or spiritual pressure which they bring to bear upon the folk is very effective in securing faithful adherence. More specific and tangible than this, but no more important, is their veto power over the cacique's choice of appointments at the yearly "elections" (q. v.). This power, though infrequently exercised, makes them virtually supreme in political authority.

THE GOVERNOR

We now come to the second set of officers, viz, the governor and his two lieutenants and the three ɪɪckales.

This group of officers is of post-Spanish origin. They serve a double function now, and I presume that the need for such services was responsible for their origin. First, they represent the pueblo in business, political, or religious transactions with the whites and the Mexicans. Secondly, they act as a screen which quite effectively conceals the existence of the cacique, the war chiefs, and the medicine men—the real powers in the village. Ever since the white men entered New Mexico there have been attempts to suppress the religion of the pueblos. And the identification of political functions with priestly office exposed their religion and ceremonies to a certain extent in all dealings with the whites. The creation of the offices of governor and lieutenant governors has made it possible for the pueblo to deal with outside organizations without any apparent trace of priest or religion. Moreover, the whites, learning that the governor holds office for one year and is then (with few exceptions) succeeded by another man, believe that the pueblo is a "democratic" community and that the people elect the governor every year, and that the governor's authority is the will of the people. This pleases the whites and diverts suspicion. Many white people who have lived in the pueblo country for years—even agents of the Bureau of Indian Affairs who have lived on the reservations—do not even know of the existence of the cacique and the war priests.

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[39] They are chosen without regard to clan affiliation. This body of principales does not include ex-officers, as is the case at San Felipe and Santo Domingo. The name would imply that this group is of post-Spanish origin. However, I am inclined to believe that there was a group of councilors before the coming of the whites and that the name principales was subsequently adopted. The Rio Grande practice of including ex-governors, ex-war chiefs, etc., in this group reinforces this belief. There is one instance of record of the deposition of some principales. When the United States entered the war in 1917 the Acoma people were urged to send men to the army. Some of the principales wished to do this, but most of them opposed helping the United States win the war. So the cacique, influenced by the medicine men and (perhaps) the war chief, deposed those principales who favored armed assistance and chose others to replace them. This is the only instance I have heard of where a principale was ousted from his office.

This notion of the whites is, as we know, very far from the truth; the governor and his men are merely the tools of the cacique and the medicine men, who are concealed by this simple device.

Since the whites began to be numerous in New Mexico, and more especially since the pueblos have come within the jurisdiction of the United States, there has been considerable business between the pueblos and the United States Government, as well as with church and commercial organizations, which, to the cacique and the war chiefs, is but a very distasteful intrusion and a hated violation of their old customs. Nevertheless, the whites are there and their influences persist and must be dealt with. It were better to have a small group of men to take care of this business than to drag the priests into it. So here again the governor and his men serve a useful purpose. They take care of a host of petty and for the most part distasteful transactions with the Government and with outside organizations, leaving the priests free for their sacred duties. Of course, the general policy of the governor is always formulated and enforced by the priests.

The following items give some idea of the kind of extra-pueblo business that falls to the governor. There is an Indian agency at Albuquerque which "supervises" Acoma. They have a "farmer" living at Acomita.[40] He supervises irrigation, livestock, road building, upkeep of the schoolhouse, etc. There is a day school at Acomita;

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[40] This "farmer" does almost everything but farm. He is really the executor of all orders from the office of the superintendent at Albuquerque regarding Acoma. See subsequent section on this individual.

all the children are supposed to attend. A physician and a dentist visit Acoma at intervals to examine the people. The Santa Fe Railroad runs through the reservation and occasionally livestock or a person is killed by a train. There is a Catholic church in Acomita. A religious organization has contributed money for the repair of the old Spanish mission at old Acoma. There is a trading post near the reservation where most of the Acoma people trade. Once in a while there is some difficulty with accounts. Tourists visit old Acoma every summer in considerable numbers. Occasionally liquor ("white mule," or "mula blanca") is brought into the pueblo by Mexicans and sold to the Indians. Occasionally some one with many sheep wishes to lease land from the Government (State or Federal).

This indicates the nature and range of the governor's business. His is really a difficult position. He has to obey the priests and work with the whites. He is frequently caught between the cacique at old Acoma on one side and the superintendent in Albuquerque and the Government farmer in Acomita on the other. Many orders from the superintendent at Albuquerque are transmitted to the governor through the farmer at Acomita and, according to the disposition of this farmer, enforced. The governor must deal with such matters as whether the children attend school or not; the sending of children to schools in Albuquerque and Santa Fe; the sending of patients with tuberculosis and trachoma to the hospital at old Laguna; the repair of pueblo roads; the maintenance of the irrigation system; trespassing on the reservation by aliens (livestock or people); the suppression of bootlegging; the regulation of the tourists; the Catholic priest who visits Acomita occasionally (the governor usually acts as interpreter, translating the sermon and announcements from Spanish to Keresan); the summoning of men for any communal labor project, such as repairing the old mission at old Acoma, etc. The governor spends a great deal of his time with his work. He has conferences with the Government farmer, with the Catholic priest, sometimes with the school teachers or Government doctors, with the principales, and occasionally with the priests.

In addition to attending to matters which involve non-Acoma agencies, the governor's duties include the supervision of intrapueblo affairs to some extent. Occasionally domestic or marital troubles are brought to him; or disputes over property or minor quarrels of any kind.[a]

In connection with ceremonies, too, the governor has duties to perform. At minor fiestas he is the officer in charge. When masked ceremonies are held the governor posts sentinels all around old Acoma to prevent whites or Mexicans from approaching.

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[a] Just what his authority is in such cases I could not determine. It seems that he usually has "a meeting" which is attended by the disputants and perhaps by one of his tenientes and some principales. They "talk it over," and from this meeting there seems to emerge a consensus of opinion which is respected by everyone concerned. However, I witnessed one case in which the governor sentenced a young man to several days' work on the roads for buying mula blanca from a Mexican and getting drunk with it.

The governor is also custodian of the pueblo treasury. He collects $1 from every tourist who visits old Acoma, and he may make assessments among the families (if this is approved, of course, by the principales). This money is to be used for pueblo purposes. Occasionally it becomes necessary for the governor to take a trip on pueblo business. His expenses are then defrayed from the treasury. But this is as far as compensation goes; the governor receives not one cent for his year's services.

The governor is appointed yearly at the Christmas "elections" by the cacique. He wears a badge bearing the words "Governor of Acoma," and he has a cane which was given to the pueblo by President Lincoln and bears the inscription "A. Lincoln, Prst. U. S. A. Acoma, 1863." He carries this cane on September 2 at the fiesta of San Estevan. Some colored ribbons are usually tied near the top.

THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNORS

These officers merely assist the governor, advising with him and executing his orders.

THE BICKALES (SPANISH, FISCALES)

Formerly these men were attached to the church during the days of Spanish administration. It was their duty to collect money and food for the church as well as to keep it in order and repair. Under the United States régime these officials used to keep the rooms of the old convento ready for the priest and supply his wants when he visited the pueblo. But these old duties have all but disappeared. The old mission church at old Acoma is visited but once a year by the priest. The bickales now seem to function almost solely as councilors for the governor. They serve as sentinels during masked dances.

THE MAYORDOMO OR DITCH BOSS

An irrigation ditch runs through the Acomita Valley. The water boss supervises this system, seeing that the ditches are kept in repair, and also apportioning the water among the different users at specified times. If a man wishes to irrigate his garden or field he must first make sure that he has the permission of the water boss. The water supply is limited, and one must not take more than his share, nor may everyone use the ditch at the same time. Sometimes a man has to get up in the middle of the night to irrigate his fields.

THE GOVERNMENT FARMER AND HIS INDIAN POLICEMAN

The recent history of Acoma (as well as other pueblos) presents an interesting study of acculturation, and from the standpoint of the pueblo cultural disintegration. A great deal of cultural innovation is to be attributed to traders, missionaries, neighboring Mexicans, white tourists, etc., but at the present time the most important fact in the process of acculturation is, I believe, the program of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs. The results of other acculturation factors have been largely external, the changes occurring chiefly in the material culture. (The missionaries have had almost no success. A Franciscan priest who had worked for almost 14 years among the Acomas said that he did not believe he had a single thorough convert.) But the program of the United States Government is aimed at their inner life, their ideas and ideals. Moreover, its program is definite, concerted, and unrelenting.[48] There can be little doubt but that the forces brought to bear upon the pueblo by this bureau will ultimately bring about the disintegration of its politico-religious life, such as has already occurred at Laguna.

The point at which the interplay of forces between the pueblo and the Bureau of Indian Affairs is focused is the Government farmer and his Indian aide (called a "policeman"). It is through him that the Government puts its policies into operation, and it is with him that the pueblo political organization makes its adjustment to this external authority. There is a day school at Acomita which has considerable influence, of course. But this institution is backed by the police power vested in the Government farmer and his policeman. A survey of the functions of these officials will illuminate the multifold processes of cultural conflict and adjustment which are at work at Acoma to-day.

Compulsory school attendance is, I believe, the most effective means of breaking down the old traditions. There is a day school at Acomita, and many children go to the Government school at Albuquerque or to the Catholic school at Santa Fe. Perhaps the greatest change wrought in these children who go away to school, though perhaps the most subtle, is a weakening of their loyalty to their pueblo; their provincialism is shaken. They meet many children from other pueblos and Navahos; their horizon widens. Acoma still remains a most important place, but it no longer monopolizes the entire stage of their interest; and, I have no doubt, acquaintance with other peoples induces an unconscious attitude of comparison (which means criticism) which makes unqualified allegiance to their home pueblo considerably more difficult.

Then there are the contacts with the whites. The Indian Service schools are not the equivalent of the white city schools, nor do the Indian children have the early training which would enable them to do work on the same plane as the pupils of the Albuquerque High

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[48] I do not mean to imply that the bureau is activated by malevolent motives, as some have charged. It is blind, and stupid at times, but its intentions are good.

School, but they do learn something. They are exposed to a great deal. They are taught something of hygiene. They are treated by physicians and dentists, and whether they get a clear notion of natural causes of disease or not, they are brought at least face to face with a system and a philosophy of medicine which completely ignores the principles upon which their curing societies rest. The boys learn something of blacksmithing, automobile mechanics, carpentry, etc., in the shops at the school, which not infrequently causes them to seek jobs away from the pueblo—in Albuquerque, Gallup, with the Santa Fe Railroad, etc.—for the home folks do anything but encourage the introduction of new crafts and trades.

The Federal Government has influenced agriculture to a considerable degree and hence, indirectly, religion and ceremonies. An excellent irrigation system has been constructed in the Acomita Valley. This has affected the Acoma people profoundly. For centuries they had lived upon the top of the Acoma mesa; they had lived there for many, many years when the Spanish arrived in 1540. Here they lived in a very compact village and breathed the air of a hoary antiquity which made innovation seem almost a sacrilege. Their farms were scattered about in the flats below. Change in the old pueblo was next to impossible, due to the difficulties of ascending the mesa, the limits to expansion, etc. Forty years ago there were a few little huts scattered among the farms in the Acomita Valley. Men went down there during the growing season and tended their crops. A little later some women went down to help; then the huts became larger. The children came with their mothers, and homes made their appearance along the little stream, and (later) the irrigation ditch. The tide swelled until almost every family at Acoma had a home in the new territory. The homes were built for permanence. At first they built high up on a steep mesa side (the "east village" at Acoma is the first site) from sheer force of tradition, for there was no longer danger of attack; but later the houses spread out, often being built quite apart from the others. At the present time there are houses strung out along the stream and the ditch for a distance of over 2 miles. Families now have more privacy than they ever had before, and this freedom from constant scrutiny and supervision can hardly fail to exert an influence upon freedom and independence of mind and spirit. At first the families came down to the valley from old Acoma for the summer season only. Then they began to spend the winter in Acomita and McCartys, going up to old Acoma only for the ceremonies.[8] Now some of the families do not go back to their old home, even for the ceremonies.

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[8] There are no ceremonial chambers except at old Acoma, and no dances except the Comanche dance which is danced at fiestas.

The building of new homes in a new location gave them a chance to build as they pleased, to adopt any style of house, or any part thereof, that they chose. And there certainly is a great difference between the 3-story house rows at old Acoma, without doors on the ground floor and few or no windows, and the little individual houses with yards in the Acomita Valley. The new houses were furnished from the white man's stores. Stoves, beds, bureaus, tables, etc., which are rare at Acoma, are to be found in nearly every Acomita household.

It would be tedious to further detail the changes that have followed upon this descent from the wind-swept rock of old Acoma to the waters of the Acomita Valley, but most important among the consequences of this migration is, I believe, the shifting of psychological forces and values. This change of residence has contributed more to the gradual but inevitable breakdown of the old tradition than anything else I know of, and the initiating cause is water—water controlled and regulated by a system of irrigation. Physical separation from the sacred Acoma tends to weaken the bonds of attachment. Their new homes are more roomy, clean, and comfortable, and the journey to the old home is not an easy one. The Acoma people are becoming more mobile. For centuries they confined their dwelling area to a few acres on the old cliff; now they are spread out over square miles. Some families have even moved off the reservation entirely and have bought farm land near by. This points toward further dissemination and eventual disintegration of the pueblo. Families who live quite apart from each other in the Acomita Valley are more free to do and think as they please than when they were living in full view of the whole population at old Acoma. There is psychological disintegration taking place; the pueblo is tending to break up into family groups.

Then, Acoma is the home of the gods and the medicine men. The k'atsinas (the rain makers, q. v.) never visit the Acomita Valley. Indeed a k'atsina would be quite out of place among irrigation ditches.[illegible] And the motive behind the masked dances is, I have no doubt, weakened considerably by the presence of an irrigation system and windmills. Why should men go to such pains and effort to have a 4-day masked dance for rain when they can water the fields themselves with their ditches? The k'atsinas are becoming obsolete.

[illegible] Although masked [illegible] of these [illegible] at [illegible] at Santo Domingo, such as directing their dancing, etc.

[illegible] I make this assertion despite the fact that the [illegible] at Acoma (as well as at Keresan villages on the Rio Grande) has been, and probably is now, [illegible]. But the [illegible] of people who really "believe in" these spirits is constantly decreasing. The [illegible] may undergo a [illegible] or may be kept for [illegible]. (See Doctor [illegible] chapter on [illegible], pt. II, pp. [illegible])

In still another way the Government is changing the life and belief of the Acomas. New or better seeds, livestock, or machinery is sent out to the reservation and given to them. Compulsory dipping of sheep is another blow at the medicine man.

To return to the Government farmer and his native policeman: much, of course, depends upon the disposition of the individual who fills this office; one man may be indolent and do as little as possible; another may be very conscientious and energetic. The Government farmer is assisted by a native, called a "policeman," who receives a salary from the Government. The duties of this policeman are to interpret and to perform any task set him by the farmer.

The farmer collects statistics regarding births, deaths, marriages, etc., among the people. He also gathers data concerning crops and livestock which he sends to the superintendent's office. He keeps the schoolhouse in repair and supplied with fuel and water (pumped to a tank at the schoolhouse by an engine or a windmill). He is the truant officer. He and his police assistant hound the parents and keep the children in school. He takes people to the hospital at old Laguna, either at their own request or upon order from the superintendent's office. Force is used if necessary. I have known of instances where a revolver was displayed rather conspicuously, and the children or patients carried off bodily. The policeman has spanked school children for destroying school property.

The farmer serves as secretary and adviser for the Indians. He helps them in their transactions with the trading post, in leasing land from the Government, in putting in claims for damages done by the railroad, etc. He frequently discusses matters of dispute among the Acoma people themselves or between them and neighbors, such as the Lagunas, Mexicans, etc. He hires men to do work on the roads, bridges, or for any building that may be undertaken by the Government. He collects pottery for fairs. He has some police authority.[a] He has arrested Mexicans who were selling mula blanca on the reservation, and he has even arrested Indians for disturbing the peace and has deposited them in the jail at Isleta or elsewhere.

All in all, the Government farmer and his native policeman are very important figures in the present-day life of the pueblo. It is through him chiefly that the policies of the United States Government are being put into operation (without the farmer at Acoma the day-school attendance would be very small indeed), and it is unremitting execution of these policies that is contributing so rapidly to the ultimate disintegration of Acoma as an integrated socio-political unit.

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[a] Precisely what the legal status of the Acoma Indian is I was never able to learn; I could never find anyone who knew. The extent to which he is subject to civil and criminal law of the Federal, State, and county governments seems to be very uncertain. The farmer may, and often does, act upon his own judgment and initiative, and sometimes upon his own responsibility.

The Elections

The cacique, as we have seen, appoints all officers, with the exception, of course, of his own successor, and the medicine men, who are only secondarily political in character.

The elections take place during the Christmas week. Nearly everyone is up at old Acoma at this time. Some time before Christmas the cacique decides upon his men for the forthcoming year. Before these names are announced they are given by the cacique to the medicine men. It is very important to note, too, that the medicine men may substitute a man of their choice for one of the cacique's. They very seldom do this, it is said, but they reserve the right to veto the cacique's choice and to substitute a man of their own selection, and the cacique may not protest. "It must be for the best," they say.

The appointments are to be announced on December 28. On the evening of the 27th, the war chief goes to the head man of each estufa (k'aatc) and requests him to have every one of his men in the komanira (the name of the building in which the appointments are announced; name of Spanish derivation) at the appointed time. Everyone must attend. If there are men in the sheep camps, boys are sent to relieve them. No man may be excused without very good cause. Many men do not wish to shoulder the responsibilities, labors, and privations of office, for which honor and distinction are the only rewards, and they seek to avoid such a possibility by being absent when the appointments are announced.

On the morning of the 28th, at the hour set, the men gather in the komanira. There is a sort of stage at the south end of the large room. The medicine men are seated in the middle of this stage with the yazi (q. v.) of the outgoing officers lying before them. These small staffs have been recharged with "power" by the medicine men for use during the coming year. The war chiefs also are on the stage. The men of the village are in the main part of the hall. The war chief announces the names of the new officers. As their names are called each man ascends the platform to receive from the medicine men his ya·zi (the governor and his men receive American canes; the other officers are presented with native staffs). The announcements are made in the following order: The war chief and his two assistant war chiefs, the cooks, the governor, his two lieutenants, the bickales (fiscales), and the water boss.

Sometimes when a man is named for an office he tries to refuse. Sometimes a man named for war chief weeps upon learning of his appointment and tries to be excused, but, of course, no one will allow it. Instead, they encourage and reassure him, and speak of his many and eminent qualifications for such an important and honorable position.

"POLITICAL PARTIES" AT ACOMA

The use of this term may seem at first glance to be an unwarranted projection of our own concepts into foreign material, but there is no disputing the fact that there are parties at Acoma. There are Liberals and Conservatives. To be sure, the interests and activities of these parties quite exceed the bounds of politics; they cover every phase of life. But the same may be said for the political parties in practically all of the nations of to-day.

In a word, the Conservatives are those who wish to preserve the old aboriginal traditions intact. The Liberals wish to adopt such items of white culture as would be to their advantage; they wish to compromise between the old and the new. Their position might be stated somewhat as follows: "Beyond the boundaries of our reservation there are many peoples. Our ways of life are not the ways of other groups, nor are they superior at every point. The whites are crowding in on us, and whether we wish it or not, we must deal with them. Through ignorance of their ways and their laws we are often at a disadvantage in our transactions with them; we are very often cheated in business deals. Therefore we should learn their ways in order to protect ourselves against them. Then the whites have many things which we have found useful—the rifle, kerosene lamps, hoes, saws, etc. If we have profited by taking these things from the whites, should we not go further and adopt anything else that we like? The white man's treatment of disease is vastly superior to our own; we should follow their doctors, etc."

This is the way the Conservatives feel: "We are an ancient people. We have a long and honorable past. We were living here happily, long before the white people ever came. Our fathers have handed down to us the wisdom of many centuries. They found it good, and all went well. Everyone was happy. Then the white men came. They have crowded in on us on all sides. They are forever trying to meddle with our own business. They are trying to run our lives. Their Government is forcing us to do things which we hate. Their churchmen are trying to rob us of our gods. Our children are driven into their schools like sheep into a corral. The young folks are falling away from the ways of our fathers and are losing respect for the gods who keep us, and it is all because of the whites. We hate them and want to have nothing to do with them.

Every compromise is a defeat for us. Let us not touch them in any way lest we perish." [47]

As one would expect, the Liberal Party is composed largely of young men and women who have spent years away at schools. They have seen enough of the ways of other people to have become impatient of the intolerant and bigoted provincialism of the Conservatives. They see no reason why they should not bring such machinery, tools, household utensils, etc., into the pueblo as would make their life easier and more pleasant. They wish to learn the ways of white men in order to protect themselves in legal and commercial dealings with them. They realize that the medicine men are simply magicians, and that they frequently spread disease, etc. But the core of the Liberal position is an emotional attitude; they are willing to change—to compromise.

The key of the Conservatives' position is likewise an emotional state. They suffer from an emotional fixation upon the past. Nevertheless, the Conservatives are quite correct in charging many of their present ills to the whites. They have suffered much at their hands. Moreover, they have adopted the most efficient policy possible to preserve the old ways; no commerce of any kind with the whites. This policy, which is an unconscious, intuitive reaction to white encroachment, is tremendously effective in serving their interests. For they are right; every compromise is a loss for them. Their ideal is absolute isolation, and they approach it as closely as possible.

At the present time the Conservative Party is in the majority. They predominate numerically and, to even greater extent, in influence. Most of the officers are Conservatives. This is, of course, what one would expect. The officers are the custodians of the old tradition. Much of the power and vehemence of the Conservative Party is due, without doubt, to this fact. The officers would lose their power, their status, if the Liberal policy were adopted. Indeed the very positions would become extinct. Old Laguna stands before their eyes as an example, the bones of the ancient régime bleaching in the sun. Naturally the men in office will do everything in their power to continue the system which gives them power, distinction, and status; and the Liberals do not want offices (except perhaps the governorship) because they are identified with the régime which they wish to supplant.

By degrees, however, the Liberal Party grows in numbers, and the hold of the Conservatives, although more militant and articulate, grows weaker. It is just a question of time before the whole scheme shall collapse, and the integrity of the political and social organization of the pueblo be lost forever.

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[47] It must be understood, of course, that neither side has expressed itself in these words; they have not analyzed the situation carefully nor consciously stated their positions, but these statements of mine well represent the feeling and position of these two parties.

SUMMARY

Government at Acoma, as at other pueblos, is theocratic: The officers are priests and the authority which they exercise is religious (supernatural). The officers and secret societies are the chief custodians of sacred lore, paraphernalia, and ritual. Pueblo administration is concerned chiefly with ceremonies, which may be divided into two classes: (*a*) Those which promote the growth of crops by influencing the weather, the heavenly bodies, etc. (the kachina cult, the solstice ceremonies, etc.); and (*b*) those which cure disease and exorcise evil spirits from the pueblo (the medicine cult). Profane duties of government, such as business with aliens, keeping order and peace, repairing roads and communal buildings, etc., are delegated to the governor and his aides who have come into existence (since 1540) for this purpose and to screen the existence of the sacred officers from the eyes of the whites.

We have discussed at some length the Government farmer and his native policeman, and the two parties, the Liberals and the ultra-Conservatives, in order to illuminate the functioning of the government under present conditions, and to indicate the forces which are at work—mechanisms of cultural change. The ultra-Conservatives wish to remain 100 per cent Indian, to purge the pueblo of all things American (except, no doubt, some tools and weapons), but they are fighting a hopeless situation. The forces of American culture, assisted somewhat by the Liberals, are encroaching more and more upon the Acoma people. It is simply a matter of time before the present politico-religious organization disintegrates and Acoma loses its integrity as a pueblo.

CEREMONIES AND CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION

Ceremonialism at Acoma, as at other pueblos, is a conspicuous phase of their life. Functionally, one may view ceremonies from three angles: They serve to establish rapport with supernaturals whose favors are desired; they are pleasurable, social occasions; and they represent the many-sided expression of the artistic talents of the people. Thus, religious, social, and esthetic ends are served. Possibly some do not have religious significance, except in an indirect way, but most ceremonies incorporate these three factors in varying degrees.

The most conspicuous phases of Acoma ceremonialism are the rain cult, or kachina cult (in which men impersonate the kachinas, or rain gods), and the medicine cult (societies of doctors cure and prevent disease by virtue of powers received from certain supernaturals). Then there is the war cult. The O'pi, or Warriors' Society, and the koshare functioned in this capacity. Since wars have long since ceased this phase of ceremonialism has largely disappeared. The Caiyaik, or Hunters' Society, too, seems to have suffered a decline. Lastly, there are some fiesta dances, such as on San Estevan's Day (September 2) and San Lorenzo's Day at Acomita (August 10), and some miscellaneous dances—Comanche, Navaho, Eagle, Deer, etc.—which are performed at Christmas time, or on anonymous occasions.

Before entering upon descriptions and discussions of these various cults and ceremonies, let us turn to the supernaturals of Acoma and to the ceremonial calendar.

THE PANTHEON

The sun (ocatc).—He is a great spirit, perhaps the greatest of all supernaturals. He is called father (naicᴅia). People pray to him often with corn meal. Prayer sticks are made for him. He figures in myths as the father of twin boys (sometimes the twin war gods, Masewi and Oyoyewi). He is prayed to at rabbit hunts, and, of course, he is the chief object of the solstice ceremonies (q. v., and other relevant sections). He is pictured in colored carvings on the face of rock mesas. He is not represented in myths as being manlike in form; the pictures of him show merely a face with rays radiating from the outer edge.

Masewi and Oyoyewi.—These are the twin war gods. They are very important.[a] They are the patron gods of the O'pi (the Warriors' Society) and of the war chiefs. Anyone, however, may pray to them for strength. They are represented with masks in dances. They are also depicted on altars of curing societies. (Pl. 1, *b*.) On the eastern edge of the mesa of old Acoma there are two rock columns (a natural formation) which are said to mark the place where the spirits of these two gods have lived since they left the Acoma people in person. They symbolize courage, strength, and virtue. They are also represented in mythology as great rain makers. They were the leaders and champions of the Acoma people in the early days when they lived in the north, and during their long migration to the south.

The k'atsina.—These are the anthropomorphic, spirit rain makers. (See Origin-Migration myth, and others, for accounts of these spirits; also see accompanying pictures and descriptions of the masked dancers.) They are of the greatest importance in Acoma ceremonialism. There is an indefinite number of them who live at a mythological place called Wenimats', located "somewhere out west," perhaps near the Zuñi Mountains. They are also called shiwanna (storm clouds are called shiwanna). About 60 k'atsina are represented by masked dancers at Acoma. (See complete list.) There is an indefinite number of some kinds, but of others there is a fixed number—two, one, etc. The same situation seems to prevail at Wenimats'. A more detailed account of these spirits will be given in the section devoted to the kachina cult.

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[a] See the myths which tell of these supernaturals.

The k'onictaiya.—These are spirits who live in the east, at hak'osikutc' (the sunrise). They also live at haniakocoko, a craterlike place southeast of Acoma. The k'onictaiya are regarded as very powerful and beneficent spirits, but they do not reveal themselves as clearly and as definitely in the minds of the people as do the k'atsina; information concerning the k'onictaiya is both meager and vague. The k'onictaiya have never known sexual intercourse. It came about in this way: The daughter of a former war chief died. Some k'anadyaiya (witches) stole the corpse and restored her to life. They were going to seduce her, but the k'onictaiya came to the rescue. They were going to fight for the possession of the girl, but decided to play a game instead. They played a game with a top (a k'owaico tororo). If the witches won, they could do as they pleased with the girl; if the k'onictaiya won, they would get the girl, but they would have to forego sexual intercourse forever. The k'onictaiya won the girl and have remained continent ever since. Another informant stated that the k'onictaiya were just like the k'atsina before the fight at White House; they did not want to fight the people. After the fight they felt that they could no longer live with the k'atsina, so they moved to the southeast, to the sunrise, hakoaik'utc^u. Some are said to dwell at a craterlike place southeast of Acoma called hanyakococo. The two head men of the k'onictaiya who are impersonated at the winter solstice, Dziukiri and K'okiri, were said (by one informant) to represent the "morning star and the evening star." So far as I could learn, they are not assigned to any particular function (except during the winter solstice ceremony, when they promote fertility and strengthen weak and sick people, q. v.). Prayer sticks are deposited for the k'onictaiya. Masked men personate them at the winter solstice.[48]

Iatik^u.—Perhaps this supernatural should have been mentioned first. She is very sacred and of the greatest importance.[49] She is called the mother of all the Indians. Her home is Shipap, the place of emergence, in the north. After death a person goes back to his mother, to Shipap. A short prayer and a bit of food are offered to Iatikᵘ before each meal. Prayer sticks are deposited to her. She seems to watch over human beings, not in any special phase (such as war or food) but with reference to the well-being and continuance of life itself. In certain rituals one speaks of getting the breath of Iatikᵘ, the breath of life, from Shipap. A tender feeling is kept for her, as well as respect.

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[48] At San Felipe and at Santo Domingo, the k'onictaiya are represented with little anthropomorphic figurines on the altars of medicine men. No masks are used.

[49] It is impossible to say which of the Acoma supernaturals is most important. I do not believe they are arranged in a definite hierarchy in native conception. The sun, Masewi, and Iatik^u are each very important. So are the k'atsina. But each is important in his own way and for different reasons. Comparisons are very difficult. The sun is a symbol of cosmic power, so to speak, but he is not anthropomorphic, he is not of the order of human beings. Masewi is a superhuman man, a champion. The k'atsina are closely associated with the people and are very important in maintaining life by rain making. Iatik^u seems to be the symbol of human life itself, in very essence. She is quite remote, however, from the daily activities of her children. She is not represented in drawings nor in costume. She is not dramatized in ceremonies. The medicine men have a fetish which symbolizes her (an ear of corn, q. v.).

The moon.—The moon is said to be one of the spirits. Prayers are offered to her. I learned no more about her. She seems to be relatively unimportant.

The stars.—Some stars, I understood, are supernaturals, but I did not ascertain which ones. They are not very important. They seem to be mentioned only in prayers.

The earth.—The earth is mentioned in prayers.

The clouds.—The clouds are quite important, especially the storm clouds. They are prayed to. Feathers on the tops of masks are said to symbolize clouds. They are conspicuous in paintings on medicine bowls, altar paintings, etc. There are men in curing ceremonies who blow bubbles to symbolize clouds. The clouds are called henati, but shiwanna is used to refer to the cloud people, the rain makers. In paintings of clouds on the walls of ceremonial chambers clouds are represented as having eyes and mouth.

Lightning.—Lightning is sacred. Its association with rain makes it very important. It is associated, also, with hunting. Hunters pray to the lightning when they start out on a hunt. There is a close association between flint and lightning; both exhibit flashes of light. Flints are called lightning stones. The fact that lightning sometimes strikes and kills also allies it to hunting. Lightning seems to be a symbol of power, and flint appears to be a capsule which is capable of containing this power which may be drawn upon. Sometimes people wear a little flint arrowhead on a string tied around the neck; this is to enable the wearer to profit from the power of lightning. Medicine men have big flints which they employ to secure "power." There are two kinds of lightning: Zigzag lightning is called bo'trowicti; sheet lightning is called k'opestotea. There is a little plant which is sometimes placed on top of a house to keep the lightning from striking it.

The four rain makers of the cardinal points.—In the north lives Ca'kak at K'aweeɒima (Mount Taylor); he brings the snow. Guicthia, who makes rain, lives in the west at Bünya Kot (Zuñi Mountain). At Dan'tyuma in the south lives Mai'yatcuna, who brings the drizzling rain, the taïntïnïka.[31] Cuitira lives in the east at a mountain called K'ütcana; he brings the fog and mist. These supernaturals are merely mentioned in prayers.

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[31] Ordinary rain is called k'a'tca.

Hunting gods.—We have already seen that the sun is called upon at rabbit hunts, but the hunting deity par excellence is the cougar, or mountain lion. Formerly there was a hunters' society called the Caiyaik. They were medicine men of the hunt. It was their business to supply hunting medicines to hunters and to assist in communal hunts. Their patron spirit was the mountain lion, and they possessed a little stone figure of this animal. (See Caiyaik.)

Medicine gods.—(The gods who possessed the power to cure disease will be discussed under The Medicine Cult.)

San Estevan.—St. Stephen is the patron saint of Acoma. His day, September 2, is observed at Acoma, with services in the old Spanish church and with a corn dance in the plaza. (See The Fiesta of San Estevan.) He is regarded as having some power and is disposed to help the Acoma people.

Yoshthi (*Dios, God*).—The Christian God is also regarded as a supernatural, and hence has some power; but he does not have as large a following as San Estevan, who has a peculiar obligation to Acoma. He is not regarded, in general, as having very much power, and he is not particularly well disposed to the people. It is said that he punishes some people after death; none of the native deities do this. Sometimes prayer sticks are offered to God, but they are always accompanied by sticks for Iatik^{u}.

Cristo (*Christ*).—He is regarded as a supernatural, but not primarily for the Indians. He has very little following.

CEREMONIAL CALENDAR[33]

The following is a list of ceremonial observances at Acoma during the year, with the dates (approximately) for each:

December 24. Christmas Eve, ceremony in church.
December 25, 26, 27. Miscellaneous dances.
December 28. Elections announced.
January (?). Installation of war chief. (See this section for details of procedure and the year's program.)
January (?). Scalp dance, k'atseta, for the incoming officers.
June 20–21. Summer solstice, dinya'micoko.
June 24. San Juan's Day, rooster pull.
June 29. San Pedro's Day, rooster pull.
July 12–14. Natyati, the summer masked dance.
July 24. Rooster pull.
July 25. San Diego's Day, corn dance.
August 10. San Lorenzo's Day, corn dance at Acomita.
September 2. San Estevan's Day, fiesta at old Acoma.
September 20 (cir.). Fall masked dance.
December 21. Winter solstice, k'oa'micoko.

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[33] See Doctor Parsons's detailed calendar for Zuñi, Notes on Zuñi, pt. 1, pp. 151–182.

And other ceremonies:

G'aiyabai'tsani, the fight with the k'atsinas, comes every five years, usually in the early spring.

The masked dance of the Corn clan comes every five years, usually in the middle of the summer, about the last of July.

Scalp dances were held after a kill (in the old days), or at the direction of the O'pi.

Rabbit hunts (q. v.).

Miscellaneous dances (q. v.).

Depositing prayer sticks (q. v.).

In some cases, such as saints' days, the dates of ceremonies are fixed, such as the fiesta of San Estevan, but the dates of other ceremonies can be fixed only approximately, since they vary somewhat. The big summer masked dance, for example, might begin on July 11 or July 12. The cacique sets the date for this, as well as other ceremonies which may vary chronologically. I do not know how he arrives at the date for the summer k'atsina dance; the time for the solstice ceremonies he determines by watching the sun at rising.

Rabbit hunts are held before almost all important occasions. There is one for the war chief in February (shortly after his entrance to office), one before the summer solstice, one before the fiesta of San Estevan, and one before the winter solstice.

The rooster pulls and the miscellaneous dances are of minor importance. Whether they have a rooster pull on San Pedro's Day or not is optional; sometimes they do and sometimes they do not. The dances referred to as miscellaneous are the eagle, Comanche, buffalo, basko, etc. (Basko is frequently rendered "corn dance" in English.)[illegible] These dances are merely recreational in character. Anyone who wishes to dance may join in. They are not sacred and may be witnessed by the whites or Mexicans. Dances of these kinds always follow Christmas Eve, and a Comanche dance is nearly always held at Acomita on San Lorenzo's Day, but these dances may be and are held at other times. During the winter at old Acoma people frequently get together for dancing, and even during the summer at Acomita they sometimes have a corn dance (basko dance) in one of the houses.

The ceremonial calendar must be viewed, then, as a routine which is both rigid and flexible, sacred and trivial. There are some things which must be done at certain times. There are other matters which may be observed or omitted at varying times. Some ceremonies are of the most sacred nature; others are trivial occasions for enjoyment.

[illegible] Doctor Parsons suggests that basko may have been derived from the Spanish paskwa, a term applied to Christmas and Easter. Subsequent studies at Keresan villages in the east have corroborated this.

"All important occasions must be preceded by, or accompanied with, the making and depositing of prayer sticks," might well be taken as a valid generalization of ceremonial procedure. They are made before all masked dances, the solstice ceremonies, at birth, and at death, for all important ceremonial occasions are intimately concerned with the supernatural world, and prayer sticks are the most formal and satisfactory means of establishing the desired rapport with the spirits. (A section will be devoted to prayer sticks later on.)

We shall now proceed with descriptions of various ceremonies. By far the most important phase of communal ceremonialism at Acoma is the personation of the k'atsina by masked dancers.[34] And if one will keep in mind fruitfulness of fields, which implies abundance of rain (brought by the k'atsina), and the regular sequence of the seasons (the solstices), he will have the conceptual core of the larger part of Acoma ceremonialism. A detailed account of the kachina (k'atsina) cult, then, will be the best preface to the ceremonies which follow.

THE KACHINA CULT

As we have already seen, the k'atsina are spirit rain makers. In appearance they are exactly like the masked dancers. In the old days, when the Acoma people were still living in the north (see Origin-Migration Myth), the k'atsina used to come to the village when the people were lonesome or sad and dance for them; this cheered them greatly. The k'atsina used to bring gifts, too, such as food of all kinds, buckskins, bows and arrows, beads, etc.; they taught the people arts and crafts and hunting. And after the people began to grow their own food the k'atsina would come to the village when the fields were dry and thirsty and dance. Rain always followed. The Indians owe almost everything to the k'atsina.

But after the great fight between the k'atsina and the people (see myth Guititanic for account of this episode) the spirits refused to come to the village any more. However, they told the Indians that they could wear masks and costumes to represent k'atsina and act as if they were k'atsina. If they did this and honored and respected the k'atsina, then they would come and possess the persons of the masked dancers and all would be well—rain would come. That is why the Acoma people have masked dances to-day, and that is why the k'atsina are so revered.

The k'atsina live at a place called Wenimats[1]; it is "somewhere out west, perhaps near the Zuñi Mountains." There they live very much as the Indians at Acoma do. They have a chief, or hotceni, named k'imac. They have fields, they hunt, gamble, and dance much as the Acoma people do. (See the various myths which tell about the k'atsina.) There are some k'atsina women, too. These are usually called k'otcinako, or yellow woman. But some of them have faces of other colors (it is the face alone that has the distinguishing color); there is one with a white face, g'acinako. According to some of these myths, these women are virgins; they never live with the male k'atsina. Still, there is the story of Tsictik'atsame (q. v.) which implies family life at Wenimats'; one of the chiefs had a daughter who became the bride of Tsictik'atsame, who was himself a k'atsina.

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[34] I say communal to distinguish one order of ceremonies from those of the curing societies, which are, strictly speaking, the property of these secret societies.

Not all of the k'atsina, however, live at Wenimats'; a goodly number live near Acoma. This, I believe, is due to the very long occupancy of the mesa of old Acoma; every inch of ground near there is very familiar to the people, and some of the sites have become associated with myths and legends. Another consideration is the richness of the kachina cult at Acoma and the elaboration it has undergone since it arrived; abundance of kachinas is probably both cause and effect of these special spirits who live at designated spots.[58]

The kachina organization.—With reference to the k'atsina the people of Acoma are divided into two groups—those who believe that the masked dancers are really gods and those who know full well that they are the men and boys of the village with their heads encased in buffalo hide. The first group, of course, is made up of young children. At an early age they see the dancers in the plaza; perhaps one of them, impressive in his mask, costume, paint, and feathers, picks his way through the spectators to give some child a present of fruit, or perhaps a k'atsina oak (baby, or doll, q. v.). They are told that these dancers are great gods from Wenimats'; they are taught to regard them with awe.

Then comes the day of awakening; they are initiated into the secrets and mysteries of the k'atsina and the dancers. Boys and girls alike are initiated, but the rôle played by women in the kachina organization is negligible.[59] The women prepare food for the dancers, assist them in their distributions of gifts, etc., but they never wear a mask in a dance even though a k'otcininak'o (a k'atsina woman) be impersonated. The people who have been initiated into the secrets of the k'atsina are called G'uiraina tcaian'.[57] Children affiliate with the kiva of the father.

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[58] The fact that Acoma is not far from Zuñi, where the kachina cult is especially luxuriant, illuminates the situation somewhat. Acoma received the mask cult before the Rio Grande villages did (assuming, of course, that it came from the west, which I believe to be the case) and has retained more kachinas than her [illegible].

[59] Among the eastern Keres the women are kept in theoretical ignorance of the identity of the masked-dancers, with the exception of a few women (called [illegible], or initiated), who assist the masked dancers during ceremonies.

There is a headman for each estufa (kiva, or k'a·ato).[58] He is appointed by the cacique and serves for life. His duties are in general the administration of the unit of the kachina organization belonging to his estufa; specifically, he is the custodian of the masks, keeping them safely secured between ceremonies; he takes them out and paints them for dances and feeds them and offers them cigarettes; he summons his men for ceremonies and instructs them in matters of preparation, etc.

Initiation of children into the kachina organization.—The war chief keeps track of the children to be initiated. Initiations are held at intervals of about five or six years. In the old days initiations were held at the winter solstice; now they are held during the summer. Formerly, children were initiated at ages ranging from 9 to 12 (approximately); now, however, the initiation is usually postponed until the children come back from the schools to stay in the village.

When the war chief thinks the time has come for another initiation he confers with the cacique, who sets a date. Then the war chief goes through the streets (four days before the initiation is to take place) announcing the forthcoming event.

On the fourth day before the ceremony the father of a child to be initiated (or the child's maternal uncle, if the father be dead) looks about for some one to act as his child's sponsor during the initiation. He always chooses a good friend, and usually a clansman. The father makes four wasañi (feather bunches, q. v.) each one containing a wi'icni (corn-husk cigarette which has been lighted and extinguished) and wraps them in a corn husk. This package he carries to the man he has chosen for sponsor and hands it to him, saying "Dium^u" (brother). The recipient replies, "Dium^u." The father prays, asking his friend to look out for his child during the initiation, and asks the spirits to grant him a long, useful, and happy life.[59]

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[57] In the Rio Grande villages there are two complementary secret societies, the Koshare and the Quirena. They are definitely organized, have a headman, new members are secretly initiated, etc. They assist at ceremonies. At Acoma the Koshare Society is found, but the Quirena exists in quite a different form. There, instead of being a small secret society with special functions, the Quirena (called G'uiraina at Acoma) is simply the aggregate of all individuals who have been initiated into the secrets of the k'atsina. The features which characterize the Quirena in the east, such as special ceremonial functions, a distinctive costume, a mythological residence, etc., are not found at Acoma. Acoma, it seems, has worked out a compromise between east and west. It has the names "Koshare" and "Quirena," and the form and functions of the Koshare Society, which are eastern features. Then it has the idea of a tribal society whose functions are closely associated with kachina impersonation (viz, the G'uiraina tcaian'), which is a Zuñi characteristic. The absence of the society principle, too, is a western feature rather than an eastern one. One might suppose a priori that such a situation would be found at Acoma, since its geographic position is about midway between Zuñi and the pueblos of the Rio Grande.

[58] Another informant stated that there were two headmen. The man who told me that there was one headman said that there was an assistant.

[59] The man who acts as sponsor is called nayawaimi itu; the children to be whipped are called [illegible]

The sponsor divides the package of wazani and corn meal into two parts. With one he prays for the child; the other he takes to his brother or uncle, telling him that he is sponsoring a child (is "going to raise a child") at initiation, and asks his assistance at that time. (This man is to place a feather in the child's hair immediately after he has been whipped.)

The initiation ceremony is always held in tsitcinic ka·atc, or Mauharots (the "head estufa"). On the day of the ceremony the cacique goes to Mauharots and the Antelope altar is erected. In the evening the cacique and the Antelope men, the war chiefs and their cooks, and some medicine men gather in the head estufa; all the other men of the village go to their respective kivas where they spend the evening singing.

The children are to be whipped by a k'atsina, Tsitsünits ("Big Teeth"). This spirit is personated by kasina tcaiani. In the evening of the initiation he goes to haimatats' k'aatc to get his mask and costume. He will be accompanied by four (more or less) g'omaiowic ("scouts," pl. 10, *b*). They, too, get their masks at haimatats'. They dress and go out on the west side of the mesa; they are to come from Wenimats', you see, which lies in the west.

After Tsitsünits has gone to the west side of the village the war chief goes through the streets summoning the children to the head estufa. The sponsors, who have been waiting in their homes, rush to get their children. Both sponsor and child have been bathed for this occasion, and their heads washed in yucca suds. The sponsor wears a cotton shirt and trousers (somewhat resembling pyjamas), a "banda" or ribbon around his head, and moccasins; a blanket is thrown over his shoulders. The boys to be whipped wear only a breechcloth; the girls wear a thin calico dress. All of the sponsors try to reach the ceremonial chamber first in order to secure good seats. The sponsor carries the child on his back, covered with his blanket. He carries the child down the ladder and then puts him on the earth floor. Then he leads him to the altar, taking the child by the left hand and leading him forward on the east side of the fireplace. The child faces the altar; the sponsor stands behind him. The sponsor puts the wazani in the child's hands and places his own under them. The sponsor prays; when finished, he throws the wazani on the altar. Then they find a seat, leaving the altar and passing to the west of the fireplace. The sponsor takes off his blanket and folds it up for a cushion. The child sits in front of him.

All the while the singers (called manaikotitc, "grape men"), the kuuts' hanotc (Antelope men) are singing. The war chiefs will be along the west wall near them; they join in the singing if they wish to. In the other estufas men are singing. No women are present in Mauharots; the girls are sponsored by men.

It is now time for Tsitsünits to arrive; the war chief sends a lieutenant to get him. Tsitsünits and the g'omaiowic approach, "hallooing like k'atsina." They cry "Ho, ho, ho, ho!", or "Ho-o-o-o-o!", or "Hu lu lu lu!" They traverse the circuit of the eight dancing stations (see fig. 1), walking very fast. Then they go up on top of Mauharots. There they halloo and stamp their feet very fast; this is to frighten the children. The entrance to the estufa is covered with a buffalo hide. Two or three of the men who are assisting Tsitsünits lift one side of this cover and thrust their forearms (which are painted white) inside; their hands are filled with fruit or nuts. The sponsors scramble to get these gifts for their children. (Sometimes a sponsor has himself hidden away some gift, which he slyly produces for his ward.) The children are told that these gifts have come to them from the k'atsina. Tsitsünits and his men sing a few songs on top of the chamber.

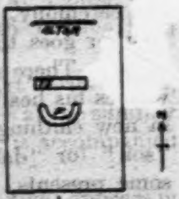

FIGURE 2.—Diagram of Mauharots, the head estufa. T= taiwai'mətyəm. F= fireplace

At the close of the songs on the roof, the cacique rises and goes to the altar. He picks up a small pottery bowl of ashes mixed with water. He carries it toward the fireplace, pauses, and hurls it toward the roof opening.[9] Immediately the buffalo hide is snatched away and Tsitsünits comes rushing down the ladder (his back toward the rungs), followed by the g'o'maiowic. Tsitsünits goes about in a menacing attitude, glaring at the children. He brandishes his whip. The g'o'maiowic run around the chamber frightening the children. "Oh, look at all the children in here! How did you all get in here?" they cry. And "All you children are going to get a whipping!"

Tsitsünits goes to the east end of the taiwai'mətyəm (the planks over the resonance chamber, fig. 2) and begins to dance. He dances two songs and then goes over to the east end. Then the sponsor who is nearest the west end rises and places his child on the center of the taiwai'mətyəm, facing south. He causes the child to lean forward; the sponsor clasps the child's hands in his. Tsitsünits then strikes the child four times with his soap-weed whip: twice on the back near the shoulder blades, once on the back of the legs between hip and knee, and once on the calves of the legs. The child and his sponsor then exchange places, and Tsitsünits whips the sponsor in the same way. All the while the g'o'maiowic run and jump about the room yelling "Oh, look at the blood! Look at the blood, how it's running down!" etc.

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[9] I could not learn why this is done. Ashes are used in other connections as a prophylactic against witches.

After the sponsor has been whipped he and his ward leave the tsiwaimityᴀm to return to their places. The sponsor's brother comes up and fastens a wasa'ni (feather bunch) in the child's hair and gives him a new name.[61] Then they go back to their seats. The scouts (the g'o'maiowɪc) come up and give the sponsor some herb medicine. He chews it, spits in his hands and rubs it on the child where he has been whipped, then on his own body.

All of the children are whipped. Tsitsünits goes out, followed by the g'o'maiowɪc; they go back to the west (to Wenimats'), unmask, dress and return to their estufa. The cacique rises, gives thanks for the new initiates and wishes them well. Everyone is given permission to leave. The sponsors take their children home. Then they and their brothers go to their respective estufas to join the other men there in singing songs of, and to, the k'atsina. The cacique and the Antelope men (kuuts' hanotc) and the war chiefs remain in Mauharots, singing. All during the night groups of men from the five estufas come to Mauharots (tsɪtcɪmɪc ka·atc) to dance.

The whipped children wear the wasa'ni (feather) for four days after the ceremony. On the morning of the fifth day the wife of each sponsor goes to the home of their "child" and brings him to her house. There she removes the feather (wasa'ni) from his hair and washes his head with yucca suds. She bathes him and dresses him in new clothing that has been made for him. Then she gives her "son" (or "daughter") breakfast. After breakfast she gives him some presents, some corn, fruit, nuts, etc. These gifts have come from the k'atsina. Then she takes the child home. The "mother" carries the basket of fruit and nuts, but the child must carry the corn himself, in a blanket. He must plant this corn.

The households of the newly initiated children must not eat meat or salt nor have sexual intercourse for four days following the whipping. Most of the other households observe these restrictions too.

Some time after the whipping a maternal uncle takes the child back of the old Mission church. There they find the cacique gathered with some Antelope men (kuuts' hanotc) and some k'atsina. The k'atsina are sitting down with their masks on the ground before them. The secret is out now—the children learn that the masked dancers are really their fathers and uncles. The uncle causes the child to make a prayer stick, and with it to pray to the k'atsina. Then he takes the child to the cacique and seats him on the ground facing the cacique. The cacique tells the child that the time has come for him to learn all about the k'atsina and the masked dancers. He tells him the story of the great fight at White House (kacikatcut'ᵃ) long ago in the north, when almost all of the Indians were killed by the offended spirits. He explains why the k'atsina do not now visit the village in person and why it is necessary for men to impersonate them. The cacique impresses the child with the importance of these ceremonies and the necessity of undiminished respect and reverence for the k'atsina. Finally, the child is bound to secrecy and is warned of some terrible calamity that would befall him should he ever reveal any of the secrets.

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[61] In former times the children had their hair clipped close to the head except for the crown; the wasa'ni was attached to this. The man who fastens the feather is called maiyatcotia G'onic.

Then the cacique takes the child to the head k'atsina, who holds some prayer sticks in his hands. The child's hands are placed under those of the k'atsina, and the cacique places his hands under the child's. The cacique prays at great length. He blesses the child, asks that he may have a long life, that he may be successful in farming and in hunting, that his parents may live long, etc. Then the cacique formally presents the child to the head k'atsina, stating that he is now a member of G'uiraina tcaian[1].[a]

CATALOGUE OF THE K'ATSINA

The following is a list of the k'atsina impersonated at Acoma, with a few notes regarding each. Pictures of most of them have been secured.

1. Wai' oca (duck); full company; belongs to Daut'korits estufa, appears in Natyati (the summer dance) and sometimes at the summer solstice; sometimes in the September masked dance; is accompanied by Pai'yatyamo as side dancer.

2. Guacsto·tc; full company; belongs to Kockasi·ts kiva; appears in Natyati; is accompanied by two Co·nata side dancers.

3. Guabitcani; full company; belongs to Coakats kiva; appears in Natyati; is accompanied by Pai'yatyamo side dancer.

4. He'mic; full company; belongs to Cutrini·ts kiva; appears in Natyati; is accompanied by Gauwactca'ra and two k'otcininako.

5. Mo·ots (Moqui, Hopi); full company; belongs to Haimatats kiva; appears in Natyati; is accompanied by one or two G'o'maiowic.

6. Saiyai'tuwi; full company; belongs to Cutrinits kiva; appears at winter solstice.

7. K'aiya; full company; belongs to Daut'korits and to Haimatats; appears at winter solstice; sometimes comes at summer solstice.

8. Tc'akwiya; full company; Kockasits kiva; appears at winter solstice; sometimes at summer solstice.

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[a] With regard to the kachina organization at Acoma, two significant features should be noted: (1) At Acoma there are five units in the kachina organization (there may have been six at one time, since both Mindeleff and Bandelier state that there were six kivas); among the eastern Keres there are only two kachina units (except at San Felipe, where there are three, but there are only two kivas; moreover, the feeling is for two groups. The situation at Santa Ana seems to be abnormal, too), the Squash and the Turquoise groups. (2) There is no ceremonial whipping at initiation in the east. In both of these features Acoma resembles Zuñi practice rather than that of her eastern cousins.

9. Na·'wic; full company; belongs to Kockasits kiva; appears in September masked dance always; appears sometimes at winter solstice or summer solstice; accompanied by Gauwactca'ra and two K'otcininako.

10. Nai'yu; they live southeast of Acoma near a large red rock. They used to come up to Acoma in the middle of the summer. They brought with them a buckskin bag filled with seeds—all kinds of seeds. They dance in the village. They call all of the people to the plaza to play a game with their buckskin seed ball. The headman of the Nai'yu draws a line on the ground; some of the people stand on this line. Others, men and women, stand up on the roofs of houses. Then the head Nai'yu stoops down to the ground, holding the ball between his hands. Then he straightens up quickly, throwing the ball over his left shoulder backward. If it hits some one, that person will have good luck, live to be very old, have good crops, etc. He will also receive some seeds. In return he must pay the Nai'yu with a piece of buckskin. The people who are standing on the ground must not move off the line, else they are disqualified. The Nai'yus when they stoop down try to look up the women's dresses. This causes the women to experience inordinate sexual desires. After the ceremony, the Nai'yus carve representations of female genitalia on the face of cliffs south of Acoma. I have seen and photographed these carvings.

11. G'otitca'nicamᵉ; full company; belongs to Coskats kiva; appears at summer solstice; they live at Acoma on the northwest side of the mesa; they clean out the water holes; they are good farmers (green bean vines are placed on the top of the mask when they dance).

12. Nakūtc (Red Eyes); full company; belongs to Haimatats kiva; appears at the winter solstice; lives at Wenimatsⁱ; carries rattle in right hand and bow and arrow in the left. Nakūtc used to guard the cornfields at Wenimatsⁱ. He had a camp there and always had a fire going. He used to roast corn. Smoke would get in his eyes and make the tears come. When they smarted he would rub them. His eyes became red and inflamed; that is why he is called Nakūtc. He was an expert corn roaster; other k'atsina used to get him to roast corn for them. But he had a very ugly disposition. When some one would come near his fields, he would throw rocks at him with his sling (yauc Būnim). But if the visitor were not afraid, if he did not run away, Nakūtc would then let him come closer.

Nakūtc also appears in the mixed dance, G'aiya'.

13. Tcainokanatca; full company; belongs to Daut'korits and to Coskats kivas; they talk an unintelligible language; they are good hunters and feed the K'otcininakos; they appear at the winter solstice.

14. He·iya; full company; belongs to Coskats kiva; lives at Wenimats[1]; carries a rattle in dances; appears in the winter solstice ceremonies; he doesn't walk straight—plays along.

15. Hawak'o; full company; belong to Haimatats estufa; they live at Wenimats[1] and also at Acoma on the south side; they appear very seldom; come out at the winter solstice to kill dogs with clubs (when they become too numerous).

16. Kac·ko (Mountain Sheep); full company; belong to Haimatats, Cutrinits, and Kockasits kivas; they resemble sheep; the G'o'maiowɪc drive them like sheep; appear at the winter solstice.

17. Stcuta (Crow); considerable number; belong to Daut'korits kiva; represent crows; live at Wenimats[1] and near Acoma; appear at winter solstice.

(This completes the list of k'atsina that are represented in considerable numbers—20 to 30 masks; the masks which follow appear singly, or in twos and threes.)

18. Dapo·po; these are the two brothers who lived at Acoma; belong to Haimatats kiva; they come during the winter solstice; they don't dance, but merely walk around, stopping at the various dancing places. They carry buckskins. When they see a good-looking girl they wave their rattles at her; they want to give her the buckskin to sleep with her. They were good hunters.

19. Hɛlɛka; one only; belongs to Kockasits and Cutrinits kivas;[a] he comes only at the winter solstice; he dances with a woman; he carries a cactus whip. While Hɛlɛka is busy dancing, some man steals his woman. When Hɛlɛka misses her, he hunts her out and whips the man who took her.

20. Tsɛctɛkatsame; one only; lived near Acoma (see myth about this spirit); belongs to Cutrinits estufa; appears during the winter solstice ceremonies with Gacinako ("white-face woman"), his wife from Wenimats[1].

21. Hę'ruta; one only; belongs to Haimatats, Kockasits, Cutrinits, and Dautkorits estufas; appears in G'aiya' at winter solstice; he whips the k'atsina if they don't sing right.

22. Kaunat; one only; belongs to Cutrinits and Coskats estufas; appear with Cura·tca in the masked ceremony of the Corn clan, and at G'aiyanai'tsani (the fight with the k'atsina); he is blind and is always accompanied by his mother, a k'otcininako, who leads him by rattling the shoulder blades of a sheep; see myth which tells how he lost his eyes.

23. Kauayackutckutsita; there are two; they belong to Mauharots estufa; are personated by Flint or kasi'us shamans; they appear at the winter solstice only; they carry a little house made of reeds tied together with buckskin.

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[a] Only one hɛlɛka appears at a time, but the mask may be owned by more than one kiva group.

24. Ipanikaudauskonaiya; mask is kept in Mauharots; impersonated by a flint or a kasi'na medicine man; appears at winter solstice only, accompanied by a woman (K'o·tcininako); he carries a long pole with cactus on it.

25. Masewi; the elder of the twin war gods; mask kept in Mauharots; personated by an o·pi; appears in the k'atsina fight and at the winter solstice.

26. Oyoyewi; the younger twin war god; mask kept in Mauharots; personated by an o·pi; appears in k'atsina fight and at the winter solstice.

27. Pai'yatyamo; belongs to Dautkorits, Kockasits, and Haimatats estufas; appears as a side dancer with wai'oca k'atsina; also in G'aiya' at winter solstice; carries flute; one only appears.

28. G'otcininako; mythical women k'atsina; any estufa may have some; they come in different colors (their faces only being distinguished with different colors): There are red, yellow, green, and white faced women; yellow, however, is the most common. They come with other k'atsina in various dances. (See references to them in notes on the other k'atsina.)

29. Mictcaikoros; belongs to each of the five kivas except Cookats; one or two appear; they come at the summer dance, natyati, and sometimes at the summer solstice; they have white faces with a cross on the forehead; they carry a little pottery bowl of ashes which they throw into the eyes of spectators who come too close to the dancers.

30. Nyenyeka; one only; belongs to Cutrinits; appears in the fight and sometimes at the winter solstice. Nyenyeka was a great rabbit hunter. One morning he went out hunting. He saw a jack rabbit. He was going to hit him with his throwing stick (drainitca) when the rabbit spoke to him. The rabbit said, "Wait! Don't hit me. Come here." Nyenyeka went up to the rabbit and asked him what he wanted. The rabbit called Nyenyeka by name and said, "I am going to make a bet with you. I'm going off a little ways and sit down. You throw your stick at me. If you hit me you win my clothes; if you don't, then I win your stick." Nyenyeka said, "All right." So the jack rabbit went off a short distance and sat still. Nyenyeka threw his stick at him and cut his head off. So he won the rabbit's clothes (he won the right to wear the rabbit's fur). He skinned the rabbit and wore his fur over his head. That is why he wears rabbit fur on his head in the dances to-day. Nyenyeka is one of the k'atsina hotceni (chiefs).

31. A'aik'ani; one only; he is a k'atsina hotceni; mask is kept in Mauharots or in Haimatats (when taken from the former it is worn by a Flint shaman; when from the latter by the head of Haimatats estufa); appears in the fight and in G'aiya' sometimes.

32. Dyaitskotumɪ (dyaits, piñon; kot, mountain; "he of the piñon mountain"); one only; belongs to Haimatats estufa; he lives southwest of Acoma; he is a k'atsina hotceni and carries a yasi; appears in the fight and sometimes in G'aiya, at the winter solstice.

33. G'o'maiowɪc; an indefinite number; there are red and white G'o'maiowɪc (i. e., their bodies are either red or white; the faces are the same); the red ones belong to Daut'korits kiva and the white ones to Haimatats; they appear at various times—with Tsitsünits, with mo·ots k'atsina as side dancers; at the fight, etc. They act as scouts or messengers.

34. Sa'rombia; one; each of the five kivas has one; appears sometimes at either the summer or the winter solstice; he carries deer shoulder-blade rattle.

35. Sai'yataca; one; in Daut'korits, Haimatats, and Cutrinits estufas; appears at Natyatɪ and at the winter solstice; he whips the dancers if they don't sing right. He lives at Wenimats'; he runs early in the morning—you can hear his bells as he goes by.

36. Tsitsünits; one; found in each kiva except Coskats; appears in the fight and in the mixed dance at the winter solstice and G'aiya' when it is held at other times; he whips the children in Mauharots when they are initiated into the kachina organization.

37. Cura·tca; mask found in each of the five kivas; personated by a young boy in the masked ceremony of the Corn clan (q. v.); also appears in G'aiya'; carries a fire drill. He lives west of Acoma on a mountain.

38. Co·nata;[44] two of these; found in any estufa; are side dancers for Guacstotc; also appear at summer solstice (sometimes) or at the winter solstice and in G'aiya. Carries a staff to walk with.

39. Mactcoai; two; found in Haimatats and Cutrinits kivas; lives at Mataitcata, northwest of Acoma; carries hoop (mackutc) and javelin and wears sleigh bells; he calls out the shiwanna early in the morning; steals girls (see myth); appears in G'aiya.

40. Gauk'ak'aiya; one; found in Haimatats and Dautkorits; appears in G'aiya.

41 and 42. Dziu'kɪn and K'okɪn; the two headmen of the k'o·ʙictaiya; masks kept in Mauharots; worn by flint shamans; appear with the k'o·ʙictaiya at the winter solstice.

43. Gauwatcuk'aiya; this is A'aik'ani's brother; he, too, is a k'atsina hotceni and carries a yasi (little wooden staff carried by officers); mask is kept in Haimatats or in Mauharots; appears only in the fight.

44. K'ak'uipɪ; there are two; masks kept in Mauharots; appear in fight; they carry medicines which they give to the children so they

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[44] Doctor Parsons equates this k'atsina with the Zuñi Shulawitsi. Notes on Isleta, Santa Ana, and Acoma. American Anthropologist, vol. 22, p. 69.

won't be too frightened. He lives on the south side of the Acoma mesa.

45. Leoleobac'tca; one; lives west of Acoma; appears at G'aiya; during the dance he throws small balls of mud from the end of a hickory switch; if he hits you, you will live a long time.

46. G'o'yaotca; one; each estufa has a mask; appears sometimes in the G'aiya; she (is an old woman) gives deer milk to cross children who fret; sometimes at night she comes to a house and reaches inside with a crook stick and hooks a child's leg.

47. Ma'tsitsai'yackati'ta; one; appears in G'aiya; each kiva has a mask; carries blood to children; lives west of Acoma.

48. Basityamlti; one; lives north of Acoma; he comes with the k'oʙictaiya (maybe he *is* a k'oʙictaiya, one informant said, rather dubiously).

49. Hawi'a; one; appears very seldom at the winter solstice (one informant, about 35, said that he had never seen Hawi'a); he is a k'atsina hotceni and lives at Wenimats¹. He has a long blue penis (he·'yina) which is a "sign to make you believe." One must "see Hawi'ya before one can see the k'atsina close"; he "opens the children."[55]

50. Tsitcukanackaiti, also called K'ohaiya (Bear) k'atsina; one; mask kept in Haimatats, Cutrinits, and in Dautkorits; appears in G'aiya; he is a k'atsina hotceni and lives at Wenimats¹. Another informant stated that K'ohaiya k'atsina once had a race with a bear. He won the race which entitled him to wear the bear's paws on his face; they appear on the mask.

51. K'ocai'ri k'atsina (the clown society is called K'acale); one; mask kept in Mauharots; appears in G'aiya at winter solstice; carries bunches of spruce (hak'ak'). He lives at Wenimats¹.

52. K'uuts¹ (antelope) k'atsina; lives at Wenimats¹.[56]

53. Dyan¹ (Deer) k'atsina; one or two appear at the winter solstice; they carry spruce.

54. Gauwactca'ra; one; he carried a stool for the G'otcanınako who sit in the plaza during dances and rub a deer leg bone along a notched stick. He comes at the winter solstice and also with He'mic k'atsina, as a side dancer. Sometimes he comes with the Na'wic in the September dance.

55. Tsaiyakacdek?; one; mask in Haimatats, Kockaits, and Cutrinits kivas; comes sometimes at the summer dance (Natyati) and sometimes at the solstices. He lives below Acoma on the west side. At dances he throws something resembling axle grease at spectators who are too close to the dancers.

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[55] I could not understand the informant's remarks concerning Hawi'ya. It seems that the blue penis is designed to carry conviction to skeptical minds. "He opens the children" was stated several times, but I could not understand what was meant.

[56] There must be several of these.

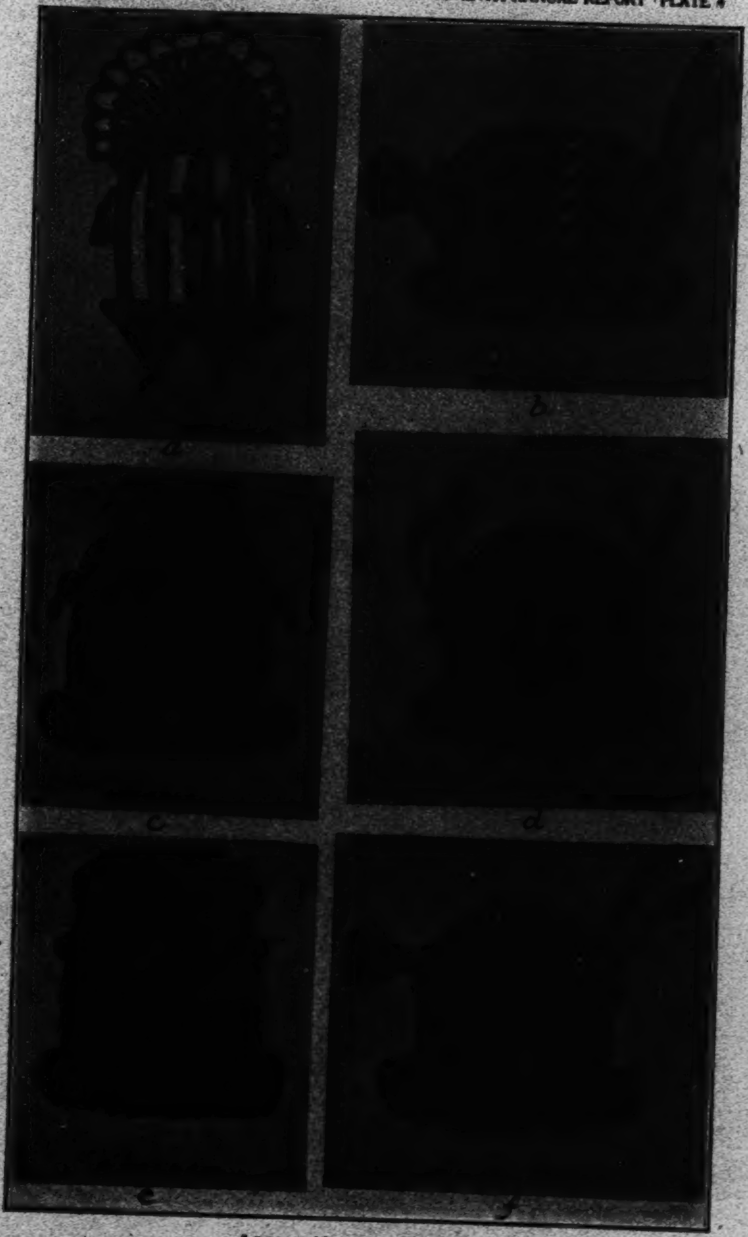
a. THE CACIQUE'S ALTAR

b. ALTAR OF A MEDICINE SOCIETY

ACOMA KACHINA MASKS

UNIV. OF MICH.

ACOMA KACHINA MASKS



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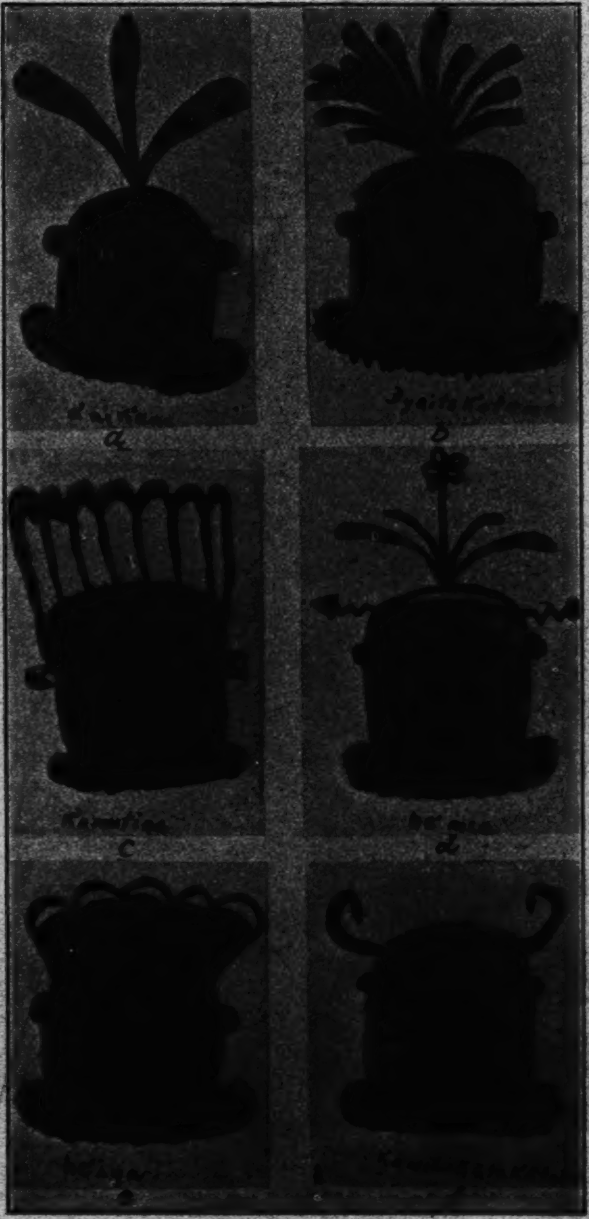

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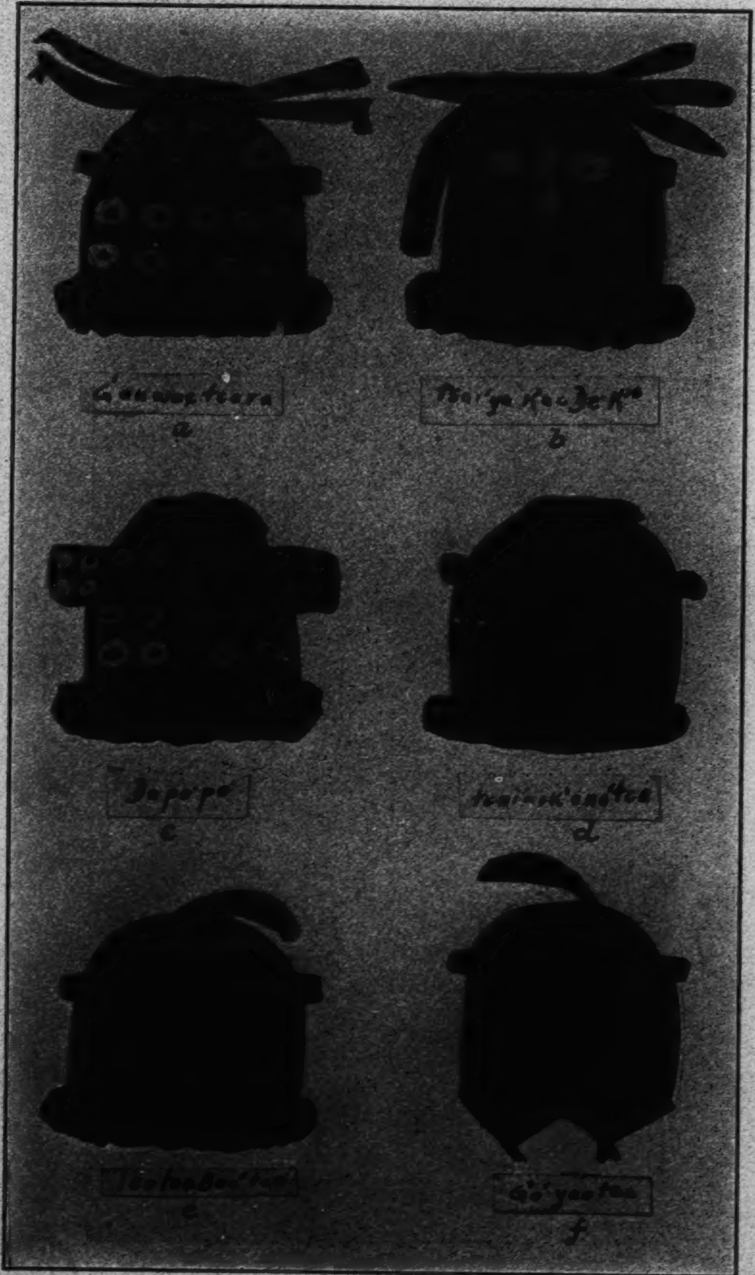

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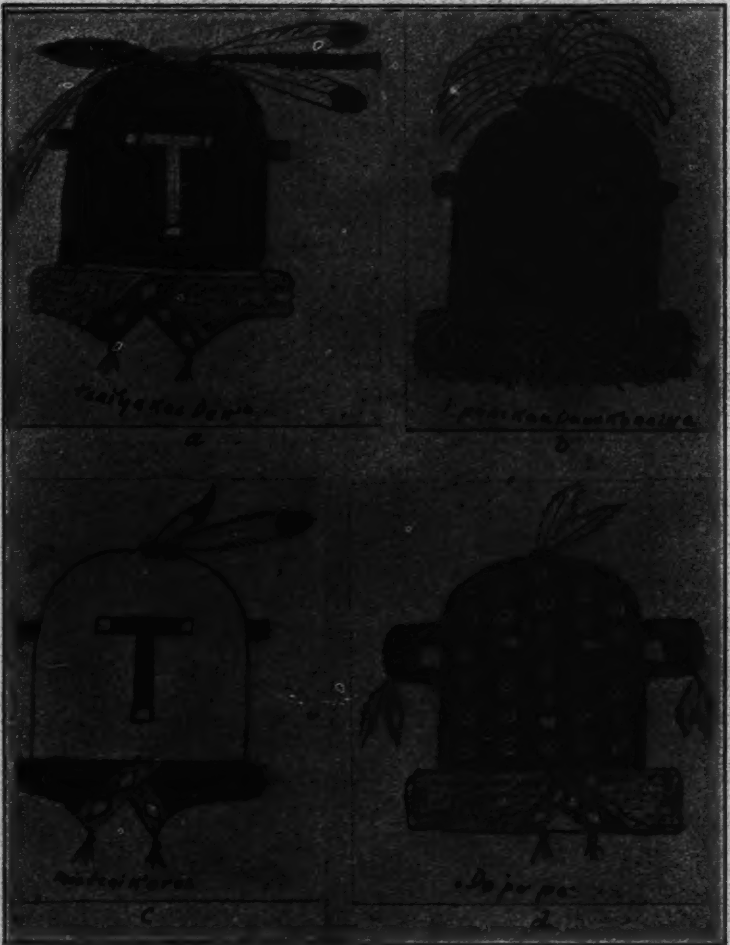

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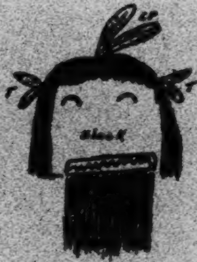
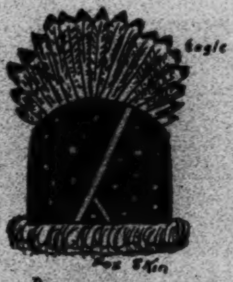
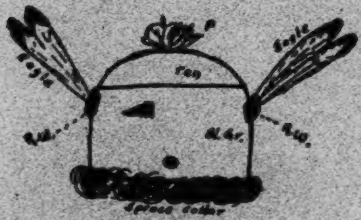


Tcerkwige
a

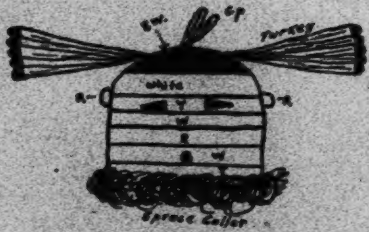

Eagle
Fox Skin

Dzyu Kirc
K'oKirc
b


P
Eagle
Tan
Eagle
R.W.
Bl.Gr.
R.W.
Spruce collar

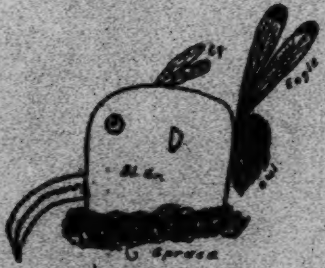
Hewa Ko'

c

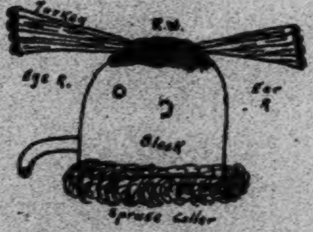

R.W.
G.P.
Turkey
white
R
Y
R
W
R
B
W
Spruce Collar

Koshare

d


G.P.
Eagle
Bl.Gr.
Owl
Spruce

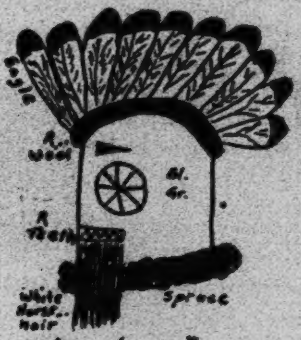
G'ao wetsu G'aiga'
e


Turkey
R.W.
Eye R.
Ear R
Black
Spruce Collar

Sta'to
f

UNIV. OF MICH.

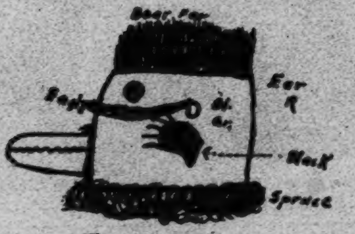
ACOMA KACHINA MASKS


Eagle
R. wool
Bl. Gr.
R Teeth
White horse-hair
Spruce

Matsitsaiÿac Ketite

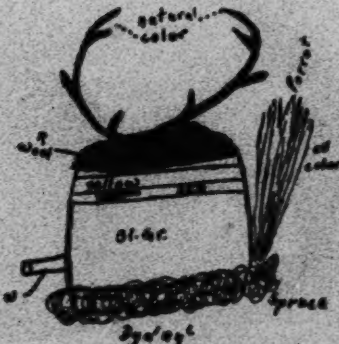
a

Eye = white ball with black
Band and black center
Snout = Black with white
Line.


Bear fur
Eagle
Ear R
Bl. Gr.
Black
Spruce

Tsic Kanac Kaiti

b

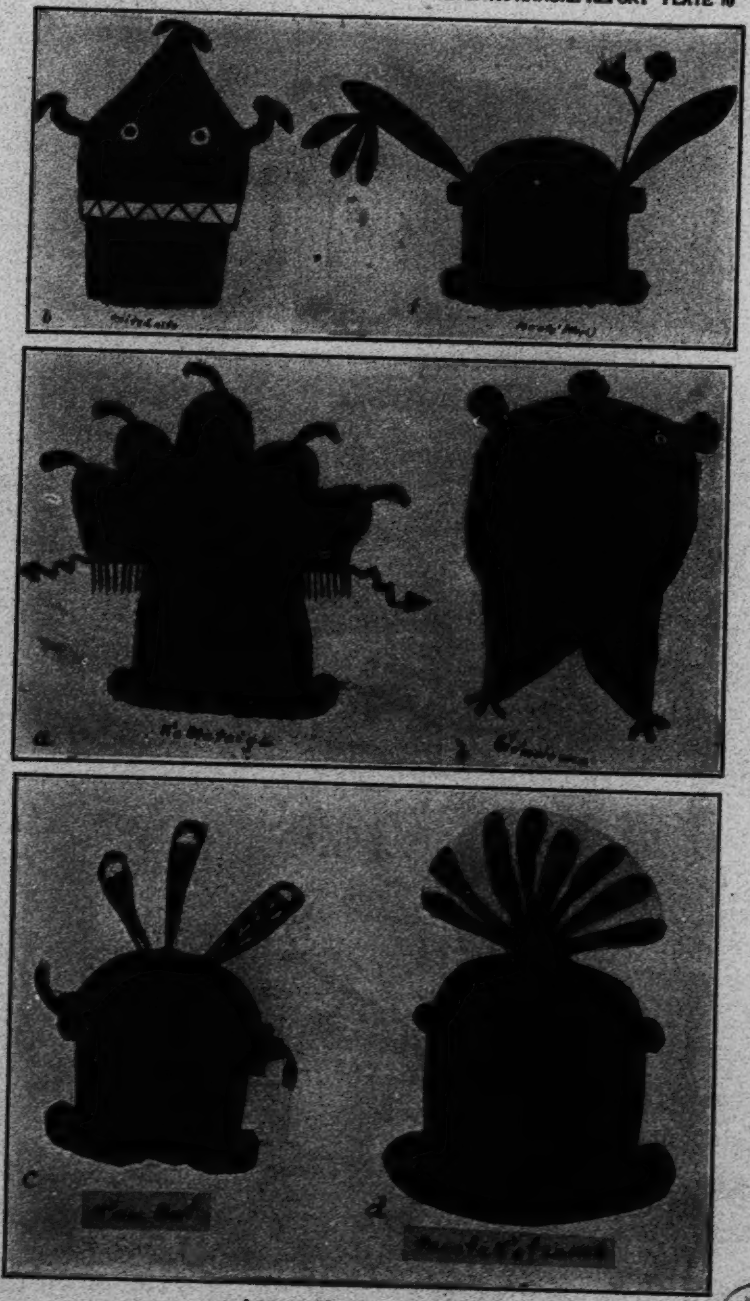

natural color
Parrot
R wool
all colors
yellow
Bl. Gr.
w
Spruce

Dya'aye

c

ACOMA KACHINA MASKS

UNIV. OF MICH.



ACOMA KACHINA MASKS

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56. Kasewat; one; mask kept in Mauharots; appears in winter solstice. (See tale concerning Kasewat.)

57. Hictian k'oasut ("flint being with wings"); comes with Kasewat.

58. K'omutina; there are two; they accompany Curatca in the masked ceremony of the Corn clan.

59. K'imac^e; there is said to be a mask of K'imac^e, the chief of the k'atsinas; it is kept in Dautkorits. K'imac^e appears at the winter solstice. (Pls. 2-10.)

General remarks concerning the masked dancers.—The summer dance, Natyati (to be described shortly), is perhaps the clearest example of the kachina cult to be found at Acoma; that is, the least contaminated with other elements. There is a great masked ceremony at the winter solstice, but there the central idea is concerned with the sun's course; the k'atsina appear in the mixed dance (G'aiya) in a perfect medley, serving merely as a ceremonial katharsis, an effervescence of ceremonialism. I believe that the "original" purpose of the k'atsinas is expressed in the Natyati, and that later they were used in the winter solstice ceremonial simply because they had them and because the general effect of the occasion was heightened by their use; it made the observation of the sun's change of route spectacular. I believe, also, that the oldest masks are the five which are used by the five kivas in the Natyati (though perhaps there are others just as old), and that many later importations (or creations) were gathered together in the mixed dance, G'aiya', given at the winter solstice. Take the mask Sa'romnia, for example (which is the Zuñi Salimobiya). Although they have this mask at Acoma, it is not associated with any particular idea, legend, or function; they simply have it—each kiva has one—and it appears in the mixed dance. If we assume that it is a recent importation from Zuñi (which I believe to be the case), this will explain why there is no story about him, and it also accounts for his rôle in the mixed dance. Where else were they to put him? I believe that the mixed dance at the winter solstice is evidence (and result) of an efflorescence of the kachina cult.

But perhaps the best argument in support of this view is to be found in comparative evidence. In Zuñi and among the eastern Keres there are both summer rain dances and masked ceremonies at other times and for other purposes. But the function served by Natyati at Acoma is the most uniformly distributed; there is greater diversity in the other aspects of the cult. Hence, one is led to the conclusion that this rain-making function, the core of the Natyati ceremony, is the purest expression of the kachina cult.

Data for the masked dance in September are meager and very unsatisfactory. I believe that the dance is not always given. I take it that it is of the nature of a harvest dance, a thanksgiving to the k'atsina who have so faithfully provided the rain for the crops during the summer.

The fight (G'aiyanai'tsani) is a k'atsina ceremony in pure form, but it is secondary to the summer dance (Natyati); it is an afterthought, so to speak. It is said that it was instituted after the people had migrated south from White House and had settled at Ako (Acoma). It was done to commemorate the great fight with the k'atsina and to show the young people what had happened. It is simply mythological history dramatized; it does not have that essential core that makes the summer dance the k'atsina ceremony par excellence, viz, the dancing of the k'atsina to bring rain for the crops.

The ceremony of the Corn clan belongs to still another category. It has the appearance of being very old and rather fundamental (Curatca seems to be the equivalent of the Zuñi Shulawitsi).[47] The full import of this ceremony, however, was not learned. I do not know why it is performed by the Corn clan.[48]

NATYATI, THE SUMMER DANCE FOR RAIN[49]

It is in this dance that the k'atsina assume their supreme rôle, that of rain making. The ceremony begins about the 10th or 12th of July and lasts four days. The date is set a considerable time in advance by the cacique. Two kivas, selected by the cacique, are to take part; one will dance the first two days, the other the last two. (The kivas alternate in succeeding years.) At the request of the cacique, the war chief visits the heads of the two kivas that are to dance and instructs them to prepare for it. After conferring with each other, the headmen report to the war chief, who carries their message to the cacique; the day is now fixed. The cacique then requests the war chief to announce the ceremony to the pueblo eight days before its execution.

During this 8-day preface the men who are to take part in the dance practice songs and dances. The headmen of the kivas take out the masks, repair them if necessary, paint them, and give them food and a smoke. The women of the village grind corn, bake bread, make pottery, etc., in considerable quantities. The dancers make dolls to give to the children at the dance. Four days before the dance a rabbit hunt is held to get meat for the feast. The dancers drink herb brew in the morning and vomit. Shortly before the dance they make prayer sticks. Usually one or two men go to Albuquerque to buy fruit for the occasion. Great quantities are shipped out—melons, oranges, grapes, peaches, plums, etc.

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[47] See Stevenson, M. C., The Zuñi Indians, pp. [illegible].

[48] Doctor Parsons suggests that the reason is a conceptual association: [illegible] is a corn god, spotted over to represent corn.

[49] Acoma differs widely from the Keresan pueblos of the east with respect to summer rain dances. See Goldfrank's account from Cochiti, pp. [illegible]. This is quite similar to practice at Santo Domingo and San Felipe.

On the day before the dance the kiva group that is to dance first eats dinner, after which they fast until noon on the day following. They do not drink water after about 8 o'clock in the evening preceding the dance. They sleep in the estufa that night. Early in the morning the dancers bring gifts to the back of houses just north of the plaza; these are guarded by the tcukseac hotcani ("little chiefs") until the afternoon, when they are distributed.

At sunrise the dancers leave their estufa, masked. They dance in eight places along a definite circuit. (See fig. 1.) They finish about noon. Then they go back of the church. They take off their masks, take a deep draft of herb brew, and vomit. Then they eat dinner. After dinner they put on their masks again. After practicing a song or two, they again dance in the eight points of the circuit. Then they go back of the church for a brief rest and to practice another song. They come out again and dance in the first four stations; this brings them to the plaza, where the cacique and the war chiefs have been watching them from their seats on the south side.[29] After dancing there, they go back of the houses to get the gifts. They bring them out and place them in the plaza. The war chief goes to the head of the k'atsina and tells him that the cacique (who is, it will be remembered, the "father" of the k'atsina) is present. The head k'atsina dancer returns with the war chief and greets the cacique; all of the dancers follow suit. Then they bring presents to the cacique and his family. They go back to dance in the plaza. All the people are crowding around, for the presents are to be distributed. When they finish dancing, they throw the gifts to the people. Then the dancing is resumed and they pass on to the end of the circuit; then they are finished.

The dancers go to tsitcinic K'aatc, or Mauharots, the "head estufa." They take off their masks and place them on the north side of the room. Then they go to their own estufa; the cacique and the war chiefs are gathered there. Cutimiti (the war chief) goes through the streets singing, telling the women to bring food to the estufa for the k'atsina (dancers). The cocineros (cooks) of the war chiefs receive the food at the entrance of the kiva and pass it down inside for the men.

After supper the dancers go outside the kiva dressed in their blankets. They dance a bit at the foot of the ladder. They are free to go to their homes, but they must return to sleep in their kiva.

Early next morning, without breakfast, the same group of dancers begins to dance again. They dance in the first four places in the circuit, which brings them to the plaza. Presents are to be distributed again. Early that morning women have brought gifts and have hidden them (as on the previous day) back of the houses on the north side of the plaza (there is a narrow alley leading from the plaza to the rear of these houses). When the dancers go back for the presents the women are there to tell the dancers whom to give each present to.[a] The k'atsina dance again, and then proceed to the rest of the dancing stations. More presents are thrown to the people. When they have completed the circuit they have finished their dance. They take off all their costume except their masks and G-strings. The cacique is there, standing on the north side of the eighth dancing station. He is holding a basket of hatcamüni (prayer sticks). He gives them to the head k'atsina. All of the dancers go out onto the south mesa, which is some little distance from the village. There each dancer reclaims the prayer stick that he has made and prays with it. The masks are removed, the feathers taken off and put in folds of their blankets. They dress (in their everyday clothes) and go back to their estufa. The masks are put away in a little side room, hung in a cloth from the ceiling. They may go home now, but they must have no sexual intercourse for eight days after the dance. Nor may they eat salt or meat for four (eight?) days after.

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[29] Another informant stated that the cacique led the dancers in the plaza.

On the two days following the same program is executed by the second kiva group.

At the beginning of our catalog list of k'atsina we gave the names of the k'atsina which appears for each kiva in this dance, together with his "side dancer." The dancers dance in a long line, composed of 20 or 30 men, all wearing the same kind of mask. The man in the center of this line is called maiyo (Spanish, mayor, elder); he leads the singing (the dancers supply their own music with rattle and song). In addition to this line of dancers similarly masked there are usually one or two side dancers. These are masked personages who do not really dance, but go about freely near the dancers. Often they whip spectators who come too close to the dancers. They are called tsanawai', or "mean" ones.

Sometimes the kachale come out at the Natyati, but not always.

The Summer Solstice (DaDya'micoke)

About the middle of June the cacique begins to watch the sun rise. He stands at a certain spot in front of the Catholic church and notes the point at which the sun first appears over a great mesa in the east. (The sun moves north toward the summer solstice.) When the sun has almost reached its northernmost point the cacique proclaims that the day of his turning south will fall on a certain day, specifying a time a few days subsequent to his announcement.

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[a] Each household has a place where its members are accustomed to sit during the dance.

Everyone makes prayer sticks to be deposited on the morning of the solstice. Each person makes four sticks which are tied together and wrapped in a corn husk. On the morning of the solstice two men and two women take the sticks for all the people to the east edge of the cliff and offer them to the sun and to the k'oaictaiya.

The cacique erects (or causes to be set up) his altar in Mauharots. For the most part, I understand, the ceremony at the summer solstice is confined to the head estufa, Mauharots; there is seldom any dancing. The kiva ceremony consists of prayers and songs. It is said, however, that masked dancers sometimes appear at the solstice and dance in the plaza. The k'acale also come out.[18]

The Winter Solstice (Koamicükü or Koamicakutsa, "Southeast Corner")

The cacique watches the sun, as for the summer solstice. He sets the date for the solstice eight days in advance; everyone in the village is notified. A person from each household goes out into the mountains to get herbs for making brew. This brew is drunk every morning for the first four mornings of the 8-day prelude. The brew causes one to vomit; it cleanses and purifies one. On the fifth morning after the announcement prayer sticks are made by everyone. From this time until the ceremony is over no one may eat salt or meat, and there must be no sexual intercourse. On this morning also the cacique and the Antelope men take their altar to Mauharots, where it is set up. On that night groups from the five kivas go, singly, to Mauharots and dance; the kuuts' hanotc (Antelope men) sing.

On the fourth day before the solstice the medicine societies go into their chambers, where they lay out their paraphernalia.[19] Sometimes groups from the kivas come here to dance too.

On the following day (the third before the solstice) the men take their prayer sticks out to their fields and bury them; the women carry theirs to the east edge of the mesa and throw them down. On this day the head men of the five kivas get out the masks of the k'oaictaiya; they are painted and refeathered for the ceremony. Other preparations are made; new moccasins are made; seeds of all kinds, shrubs, cactus, small trees, etc., are collected for use in the solstice ceremony. Rabbits are caught alive and kept.

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[18] Data for the summer solstice were more sketchy and unsatisfactory than for the winter solstice; I am not sure why. Perhaps the summer ceremony is less strictly determined in ritual. Certainly it is not so well attended; at this season most of the people are busy in their fields in the Acomita Valley, whereas nearly everyone is present at the winter ceremony at old Acoma. I believe that the functions of the cacique and the medicine men are faithfully performed at the summer solstice, but that the "extra ceremonial" features are left to the convenience and wishes of the men at large.

[19] The Fire Society uses its own chamber; the Flint Society opens a house for the occasion.

The Coming of the K'obictaiya

On the day before the k'obictaiya are to come the men who are to personate these spirits make prayer sticks, called hatcamini hi'asthimu, or "brave prayer sticks" (they are also called "war" sticks).

Children take part in the k'obictaiya ceremonies; it is especially desirable to have sickly children participate, as it makes them stronger, but all boys must take part four seasons before they may wear masks in the k'atsina dances. (They do not, however, take part in the k'obictaiya ceremony until they have been initiated into the k'atsina organization. Some time elapses, however, between the initiation into the kachina cult and participation in masked dances.) When a father wishes to have his son take part he takes a handful of meal to the headman of his estufa, which he gives to him with a prayer, and asks him to select some man to "look out" for his son. The person chosen for this purpose is called nipanicuuaiumanic ("he who gives him an early rise"). He takes the child into custody and tells him what he will have to do. Very early in the morning, before the k'obictaiya come, these little boys are taken out and hidden in fissures in the rock at the eastern edge of the mesa. They are nude; they wear only a little piece of rabbit fur tied around the penis, and a few feathers are glued to the body. They sit, hidden in the crack of the rock, sitting on a sheep pelt wrapped in a blanket.

On the morning of the final day, very early, the men who are to impersonate the k'obictaiya rise, paint, take their masks, and leave the village. They go down the mesa and travel toward the east. At some distance from the village they pray with their war prayer sticks (hi'asthimu). Then they scatter, two by two, singing war songs. They begin to return shortly before sunrise.

The war chief rouses the people before dawn; they must come out to greet the k'obictaiya. Everyone goes to the eastern side of the mesa. About sunrise the k'obictaiya arrive. They come in two files, one led by Dziukiri, the other by K'okiri, the head men of the k'obictaiya. They are carrying little fox-skin bags of seeds and fuzz from cat-tails, small trees, shrubs, cactus, etc.[a] They go to the east edge of the mesa where the people are gathered. When they come to the fissures where the children are hiding one k'obictaiya will throw a handful of cat-tail fuzz at the spot, reach down and extract a naked boy. They release their live rabbits, appearing to cause them to spring from the ground when they throw the cat-tail seeds. People who are ill or weak come to the k'obictaiya to be treated, to be given strength. The k'obictaiya touches the person, or the part affected, with the tip of his lightning symbol. (Pl. 11, a.) As the sun rises they pray to him with corn meal. They plant their shrubs in the cracks of rocks. Seeds (and sometimes gifts of nuts or fruit) are given to the spectators. The seeds are kept with their seed for the spring and planted.

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[a] The k'obictaiya ascend the mesa via the southwest trail, arriving back of the church. Here they pick up the trees, shrubs, etc., which they have hidden here.

After walking about for a time, the k'onictaiya go to their kivas, where they take off their masks. Then they go to Mauharots, at the invitation of the cacique, where they breakfast on rabbit stew. Then they go back to their estufas. They spend four days and four nights in the village. The masks, which repose on the floor, are fed and given a cigarette three times a day. At night the men put on their masks and go to Mauharots to dance. (They may go to the chamber of either of the curing societies if they wish.) When they leave their estufas to dance they all holler "Hu-u-u-u-u-u!" (with rising inflection). All the people say, "G'osiyü Bünya" ("they are going out to dance"). Sometimes the k'onictaiya dance in the plaza, and, as we have seen from our catalogue of k'atsina, many of these supernaturals come to dance at this time. There is a dance called g'aiya, or mixed dance, which is usually held at this time. A great assortment of k'atsina appear in this.

On the morning of the arrival of the k'onictaiya the cacique, accompanied by the war chiefs and some medicine men, goes out to a site on the mesa above which the sun rises. This place is called the Sun's House (Ocate G'am); it marks the southernmost point of the sun's course. The medicine men who go with the cacique carry their flints, eagle plumes, and bear paws. The cacique has a very diminutive suit of clothes, a little shirt, trousers, moccasins, etc., for the sun. A spot is cleared and the suit buried with prayers for the sun.

After the k'onictaiya have spent four days in the pueblo the war chief notifies them that it is time to leave. Early in the morning of the fifth day he comes. The k'onictaiya leave the kivas and go to the east side of the mesa. (The men wear the masks on the top and back of the head; the faces are not covered.) The men are careful not to look back when they leave the kivas, for if one did the spirit which he had impersonated would not leave the village and would disturb him throughout the year. When they get to the edge of the cliff they throw the shrubs, little trees, etc., which they had previously stuck in the cracks of the rocks, over the side. Then they take off their masks. Facing east, they move the masks upward and forward four times, holding the masks with both hands. This is to speed the departure of the spirits. The food which was given the masks during their stay in the kivas is thrown over the cliff for the spirits. Then each man draws four lines on the ground with a flint between his mask and himself; this prevents the spirit of the mask from returning to the village. Then they go back to their estufas and the masks are put away by the head men. (They are put in a little side room; the door of which is plastered shut.) The men who have impersonated the k'oBictaiya may not sleep with their wives for 18 days after the ceremony.

The Fight with the K'a'ᐟts'ina

This ceremony has not been held for many years. In former times it was held every five or six years, in the spring. It was referred to as K'a'ᐟtsina nau'wa si' i dyu'ᐟusa, "K'a'ᐟtsina are going to fight us." It is a dramatization of the myth of the fight at White House (q. v.), except that in the ceremony it is the k'a'ᐟtsina rather than the people who are killed.[28]

When the time came to hold this ceremony the cacique told the war chief to notify the headmen of the five estufas, and to request their presence at Tsitcomo k'a'ato (the head estufa, Mauharots) at a designated time. When they were assembled at Mauharots the cacique told them that it was time to reenact the fight at K'aai-k'atcuti[29] (White House) and requested each estufa to get as many young men as possible to serve as k'a'ᐟtsina warriors.

Then the headman of each estufa gets all of his men together. He tells them that they are going to have the fight and asks each young man if he is willing to be a k'a'ᐟtsina warrior.

The pueblo is to be defended by the Antelope people (Kuuts' ha'notc) and the O'pi (the Warrior Society). The Antelope people secure the services of boys and girls whom they have sponsored at k'a'ᐟtsina initiations; they will help in preparations for the defense of the village. If one of these boys is going to serve as k'a'ᐟtsina warrior, however, the Antelope people may not enlist his support.

After preliminary councils the date for the fight is set. The war chief announces in the pueblo that there will be a k'a'ᐟtsina dance in eight days. Of course, the old folks know what is to happen, but all the children think they will receive presents, as at Natyati (the summer dance).

The young men who are to be k'a'ᐟtsina warriors practice running and jumping, early in the morning and late in the evening, in preparation for the fight. They drink herb brew and vomit night and morning. Very early in the morning of the fifth day each one goes out to the mountains, barefooted, to get wood for prayer sticks. They cut eight sticks and return to the village, arriving shortly after sunrise. They eat breakfast and return to their estufas. That day is spent in making prayer sticks. While they are doing this one man at a time goes into a side room where the masks are kept. The three headmen are there. A mask is selected for him and placed on the other side of the room, and covered with an identifying cloth. No one knows what mask the other is to wear, for one might take advantage of his opportunity during the fight to kill a man he did not like, and no one would know who did it. On the day of the fight, however, brothers or close friends arrange to recognize each other by the style or design of their moccasins, or some other sign, so that they may stay together during the fight to help each other.

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[28] Compare this with the Zuñi Kyanakwe. This ceremony is not found at any other Keresan pueblo.

On the sixth day each warrior k'a·'tsina kills a sheep—his own if he has them, if not, he must buy one. He saves the blood in a clean bowl. The blood from the heart he puts in a gut and seals it up. He will wear this about his neck during the fight. The mutton is saved for the feast on the eighth day. The blood which he has saved in the bowl is mixed with guayave (a corn bread) and tallow and boiled with the sheep's head. This is eaten on the seventh day. The gut of blood is concealed until the day of the fight.

During these days the O·pi pray night and morning in the different directions and in the hole in the wall of each estufa. (See sections on estufas.) The Antelope people are making preparations for the defense of the village.

On the evening before the fight the governor (dapop) appoints men to serve as sentinels (guawactu) to see that no one approaches the village during the ceremony. They set out early in the morning, two for K'atsi'm^e (the Enchanted Mesa), two go about 5 miles south of Acoma, two north of Acoma, near the spring G'o'mi, and two at Dyaits Ko·t (Pinyon Mountain), southwest of Acoma. These men are those who did not wish to serve as k'a·'tsina warriors and who are not members of the Antelope clan. They take lunches with them, which they receive from the war chief's cooks. One could not refuse to serve as sentinel without very good reason. On top of the mesa, during the ceremony, some of the officers of the pueblo, the lieutenants, bickales, etc., keep watch with field glasses.

Shortly after midnight of the seventh day all the warrior k'a·'tsina leave their homes, taking a lunch with them. They tell their wives and mothers good-by, for they may not return again. They go to their estufas, get their masks and descend the mesa, going west. They go out about 3 miles from the pueblo. They keep their masks concealed. They have new moccasins wrapped up so no one can see them.

Early in the morning of the eighth day two red go'maiowac arrive in the pueblo, crying "Ah-a-eia Ai'i," the war cry. The war chief meets them. The red scouts warn him that the k'a·'tsina will soon come and destroy the village and advise him to prepare defense. Then several friendly k'a·'tsina are seen walking about the village. There were two k'akaipe who lived at the foot of the mesa to the south, two gotitca'nicame who lived at the foot of the mesa to the north, and two nyenyeka who lived out west. These k'a·'tsina belonged to and were prepared by the estufas, Cutrini·ts, Coska·ts, and K'ock'air·ts, respectively (q. v., catalogue of k'a·'tsina). The red or friendly scouts (go'maiowic) lived at the foot of the mesa to the southwest at Bün'yakocokome (southwest corner). They belong to Daut'kori·ts estufa. Then Masewi and his brother were there. (They were impersonated by Flint medicine men.)

The O'pi and the Antelope people were gathered in Mauharots together with the war chiefs and their cooks. Masewi and his brother go around to all the houses carrying a flint in the right hand and a bow in the left. These they press against the two walls at each corner to give them strength. The k'akuipe did the same, but used a cane in the left hand instead of a bow. The other k'a·'tsina go about the village giving the children herbs to swallow so they will not be too frightened.

Soon the white scouts (go'maiowic) arrive from Wenimats[1] armed with bows and arrows. They find the war chief and the red scouts in the plaza. They tell the war chief that the k'a·'tsina will soon come bringing presents as usual. They call the red scouts liars for saying that the k'a·'tsina are going to fight. They argue a while. The red scouts offer the whites cigarettes, but the latter refuse. They do not wish to have anyone come near them, and when the red scouts try to take their bows from them they struggle violently. After a brief scuffle the white scouts shake themselves free and run away, back to Wenimats[1].

There is great excitement in the village. Masewi and his brother and the k'ak'uipe continue to strengthen the houses and the others administer their antiterror medicine. Before long the white scouts return, still with the same report. The red scouts begin to lose patience, and urge the war chief to fight. The white scouts are invited into tsitcinic k'a·ats, but they refuse. They refuse cigarettes and food. They quarrel for some time and then depart a second time. This time, however, they take food peace offerings with them to Wenimats[1].

By this time there are some men erecting a barricade near the pond, west of the village, to defend themselves when the k'a·'tsina come. The barricade (si'tcin[1]) is made of upright poles of birch (?) and hides. It is about 14 feet wide and about 12 feet high. There were six men whose duty it was to keep the materials for this barricade, and to erect it on occasion. They were called sitciniti'tca. They served for life and were succeeded by their sons. During the day of the fight they stay at tsitcinic k'a·ats with the Antelope people and the war chiefs, when they are not busy with the barricade.

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[1] [illegible]

For the third time the white scouts (go·′maiowic) enter the pueblo. The red scouts meet them halfway up the mesa and overhear their conversation. Then they run on ahead to the plaza, and announce to the war chief, in alarm, that the white scouts are making threats, that all the people in the village are to be killed, or taken captive to Wenimats[1], etc. When the white scouts arrive in the plaza the red scouts fall upon them and disarm them. The white scouts become very angry, and for the first time threaten everyone. Then they start to run away. The red scouts give chase and take their moccasins away from them. The white scouts throw rocks and make threats as they retreat to Wenimats[1].

Then the people in the village prepare for the fight in earnest. The Antelope people paint themselves pink all over their bodies; their faces are painted with ya·katca (reddish brown) with sicamu·n (black, sparkling) put on over the red under the eyes. They wear long breechcloths. Each has a cpai′ak′ (soft eagle feather) in his hair. The women have their faces, hands, and arms painted yellow with corn pollen. They wear mantas, buckskin leggings, and moccasins. The o·pi paint their faces black above the mouth and white below (like Masewi). They wear buckskin shirts over their regular shirts; a hai′acon (feather) hangs from their hair in the back; eagle down (waeon′) covers their heads and eyebrows; buckskin skirts (ho·tsi·ni) tied at the top with a woman's belt, red buckskin leggings above their moccasins that reach almost to the knee, legs painted white from leggings to skirt. The Antelope people carry ya·si (wooden cane); the o·pi are armed with flints and knives.

When the white scouts return to the west for the third time the warrior k′a·′tsina prepare to attack the pueblo. They separate, going by twos, so that only friends or brothers will see each other don his mask. They first pray with their prayer sticks. Then they put on their masks and new moccasins; they wrap the old ones in the mask sheet and tie them to their belts. They start running toward the west, then, yelling. When they have come together in a group they turn about and start for Acoma, running. Some distance west of Acoma there was a mesa which they had to cross. At one point there was a deep narrow chasm over which the k′a·′tsina had to leap, one at a time, as the passage was quite narrow. One k′a·′tsina was stationed on the east side of this fissure to see that they crossed in order. (Once, however, two warriors collided just as they were about to make the jump. Both fell down the deep chasm and were killed. The others could not stop to help them; the bodies lay there until nightfall. Their bodies were never returned to their homes but were buried secretly.) As the warriors near the pueblo they wrench small trees and shrubs from the ground and brandish them fiercely, yelling all the while.

When the warriors reach the mesa the cacique and some men go down to meet them. They take the big clubs away from the warriors and give them smaller, less dangerous ones. The cacique and the Antelope men hold the warriors back with their ya·mi while Tsitsinüts and Dyaitsko·tume go to the top of the mesa to the barricade. They place their forearms on the ai'tcin' and their heads on their arms and cry. Then they pray.[23]

After Tsitsinüts and Dyaitsko·tume have had time to pray, one of the Antelope men cries "Cauo!" (Let's go!), and they rush up the mesa, followed by the clamorous k'a·'tsina. The Antelope men join the people south of the pond. They hold the k'a·'tsina back with their ya·mi until all have gathered, when one of the Antelope men again cries "Cauo!" Then they all run back of the screen (the ai'tcin'). The warrior k'a·'tsina then run up to the barricade, one at a time, pray, and then strike it with their clubs four times. The cacique stands by to see that none strikes it more than four times. Should one do this, the cacique will order two of the warriors to seize him and beat him with their clubs.

When all of the k'a·'tsina have struck the screen the aitcinititca (the men who tend the barricade), assisted by the o·pi, take the barricade to the next station, where it is erected, and the same procedure is followed. At the third station the o·pi cut the throats of some of the k'a·'tsina. (Four days before the fight each warrior k'a·'tsina goes to one of the o·pi taking a wasa'n' (feather, q. v.), with which he prays, and arranges with him to cut his throat, carefully designating the time and place, and perhaps giving him a sign of recognition. This is to insure having one's throat cut by a friend.)

Each time the ai'tcin' is moved the warriors are held back with ya·mi until it is erected in place. When the o·pi cuts the gut of blood at the k'a·'tsina's throat the blood runs out onto the ground, where it remains. This is a sacrifice to the earth. If a k'a·'tsina has more than one gut of blood he will have his throat cut again. They lie face downward on the ground after their throats are cut, and pray. Masewi and his brother come around to the slain k'a·'tsina and with their flints and bows touch their heads, shoulders, backs, and legs. This resurrects them. They come to life slowly and finally stand up. Gradually they regain their former fury, and grabbing up a club dash into the fight once more. Sometimes though the k'a·'tsina does not recover, but continues to lie inert on the ground where he fell. In such a case the other warriors will drag him up to the screen (ai'tcin') and lean him against it. Only k'a·'tsina are killed in the fight; the Antelope men and the o·pi are not killed.

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[23] Tsitsinüts, it will be remembered, was in the fight at Kacikatcutya. He tried to pacify the k'a·'tsina before the fight; he did not wish them to destroy the village. Now he and Dyaitsko·tume ("he of the Piñon Mountain," a mountain west of Acoma) try to restrain the warriors; they do not wish to fight the pueblo.

At the fourth station many throats are cut. It is now about 4 o'clock in the afternoon (the fight having begun about 3). And so on through the fifth and sixth stations. At the seventh station the o·pi seize the white scouts who have been encouraging the warriors all this time, and castrate them. (They wore their guts of blood concealed in their breechcloths.) Masewi and his brother run up with their flints and bows and apply them to the disfigured k'a·'tsina, but they continue to sit, rocking back and forth, in great pain.

When the fighting is finished at the seventh place, boys arrive from the house of the Antelope clan with baskets of prayer sticks which have been made by the Antelope people. Each basket contains a ball of cotton with beads inside. The o·pi and the men who tend the barricade carry their own prayer sticks with them. The o·pi have taken the clubs away from the k'a·'tsina. Each person has four prayer sticks tied in a corn husk with corn meal. The Antelope men go to the baskets and get their prayer sticks and give them to the warrior k'a·'tsina, placing them in their hands and holding their own underneath, praying. They also divide the cotton ball of beads among them. A big smoke fire is built on the west of the mesa, to recall the sentinels. The o·pi and the barricade men give their prayer sticks to the warrior, or to the friendly k'a·'tsina. The Antelope women try to give their sticks to their husbands. Now the k'a·'tsina, both friendly and hostile, depart, the friendly ones going north, south, and east to their respective homes, the warriors descending the trail back of the church, accompanied by the red and white scouts. The Antelope people go to their house; the o·pi to Mauharots. The barricade men dismantle the screen (the ai'tcin'), return any skins they may have borrowed to their owners, and take the poles to their homes. The Antelope men undress at their house, remove the paint from their bodies, and lay their ya·ßi in a pile. A day or so later some boys take these ya·ßi to the foot of the mesa and throw them into a cleft in the rocks or bury them.

When the k'a·'tsina arrive at the bottom of the mesa they unmask and go out west where they eat and rest. They return to the pueblo sometime after dark, go to their estufas, put their masks away, and go home.

Everyone who takes part in this ceremony may not sleep with his (or her) mate for eight days before the fight and for eight days after. No participant may eat meat or salt for four days before, except women who are nursing children. Everyone may eat meat and salt on the day of the fight.[38]

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[38] It is believed that bad luck or some great misfortune would befall anyone who violated this diet ordinance. Someone would be killed or have some bones broken in the fight, perhaps; but on the day of the conflict they eat meat to give them strength.

The whole village is sad for several days after the fight. The blood of the k'atsina lies drying in the plaza. There are no games. The men may return to work in their fields.[77]

Cura'tca Lights the Fires

This is the ceremony of the Corn clan. It is held every five years, about the last of July.[78]

When the time approaches the head man of the Corn clan (the nawai) summons all Corn people (ya·k'a hanotc) to their house, which is situated just east of k'ock'asits k'aatc (kiva). They set the date eight days in advance. They inform the war chief and he notifies the pueblo that Cura'tca will visit the pueblo in eight days.

During the first four days there are the usual preparations for a ceremony—making herb brew and vomiting night and morning, getting wood for prayer sticks, grinding meal, etc. The Corn men and Corn women get the boys and girls, respectively, that they have sponsored at initiations into the k'atsina organization to help them. They convene nightly in their house to practice songs and dancing. After four days they begin to make prayer sticks and wasa'n'. None of the Corn people may eat meat or salt from that time until the day of the ceremony, and all must abstain from sexual intercourse. On the seventh day they paint their masks and prepare their costumes. On this day some of the Corn men go rabbit hunting.

At midnight of the seventh day some of the boys that have been sponsored by Corn clan people at k'atsina whipping set out from the pueblo to go to neighboring mountains and mesas, where they build fires early on the following morning. Each couple is equipped with a fire drill (a·'tiutco·m'). Two boys go to each of the following mountains: K'awecᴅima (about 12 miles north of Acoma), Ca·k'aiya (about 12 miles west), Dyai'nʌk'o·t (about 8 miles southwest), and Steamun·a ko·t (about 10 miles southeast). They have had a good dinner. They may not drink water until they have finished building the fires and have returned to the camp of the personators of the k'a·'tsina.

There are seven k'a·'tsina impersonated: One Cura'tca, who is represented by a boy about 10 years old. He is entirely naked, except for his mask; he does not even wear the customary breechcloth. Two Cuma·acka, who wear skirts and carry bows and arrows in a lion skin quiver (o''ictiwacᴅan). Two K'o·muᴅina, and K'aucat'a and his mother complete the list. K'aunat'ᵃ, who is blind, carries an antelope head. He wears a buckskin shirt and leggings. His mother is dressed like a go·'tcininako; this rôle is always taken by a man. The people who are to impersonate these k'a·'tsina are chosen in a council of the Corn clan at the time the date is set, or shortly afterwards. These rôles belong to no special persons. K'aunat'ᵃ's mother carries a bundle of shoulder blades of deer, which she rattles as she walks so that her son may follow. (See story which tells how K'aunat'ᵃ lost his eyes.)

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[77] This ceremony is rather puzzling. It is said to be a dramatization of the fight at the mythical White House, but in that fight the people were killed. In this ceremony only k'atsina are killed; and why is it that the k'atsina warriors strike the barricade and not the people? Doctor Parsons has suggested that this ceremony, the Zuñi kyanakwe ceremony, and the Hopi version (described in a manuscript by Stephen), might be a pueblo rendering of a Spanish dance, Los Moros, which is a dramatization of the expulsion of the Moors from Spain.

[78] Compare this ceremony with the Zuñi sholawitsi; Stevenson, The Zuñi Indians. I understand that several years have passed since the last ceremony.

Meanwhile other Corn clan people have been busy in the pueblo. Early in the morning before sunrise, while the dancers are away at the spring, some Corn people place a pile of wood that they have previously gathered at each dancing station and also in front of the Corn clan house.

The dancers eat at midnight. From then until after the ceremony no one may eat or drink, except small children under about 8 years of age. After their supper the dancers set out for k'oasa, a spring, some distance west of Acoma. They carry their masks with them. They are accompanied by the head man of the clan, and perhaps some other old men, and some Corn women. About halfway to the spring, they stop and make a camp, where they leave the women and their masks. (The rabbits that have been killed are brought to this camp.) Then they go on to the spring.

At sunrise the two boys who have gone north to K'awec'nima build a fire on the mountain top. Then they proceed toward McCarty, westward, building about six fires along the way. When they build their last fire on top of the mesa at McCarty, then all the other fire builders make their fires, and start toward Acoma, building fires along the way. The dancers at the spring build a fire when they see the one at McCarty. They pray at the spring, leave their prayer sticks, and return to the camp. Cura'tca fills his little jar with water and lights his firebrand before leaving the spring. He carries a pottery canteen (cpo·na), hung from his neck, down the back, by a piece of soapweed. He has a firebrand which he has made by stuffing a roll of cedar bark with soft bark shreds. He lights this before leaving the spring; it continues to glow for a long time afterwards. He also carries a piece of charred wood, which he picks up.

It is about 1 o'clock in the afternoon when the k'atsina impersonators return to the camp where the women are waiting with their masks and the rabbits. They put on their masks and set out for Acoma. Cura'tca carries the rabbits hanging on his back. Arriving at the foot of the mesa on the west, they dance a bit, and then ascend the trail southwest of the church and dance at the rear of the church. Then they go to the first dancing station, where they dance, each pair of dancers having its own song. Cura'tca does not dance, but lights the pile of wood at each station. They proceed to all of the dancing stations in this manner, and then on to the pile of wood in front of the Corn clan house. When they have danced here, some Corn clan women come out and take the jar of water, the rabbits, and the charred wood from Cura'tca and carry them into the house of the Corn clan. Then they all go inside, unmask, bathe, and have a feast.

The nawai' of the Corn clan (the headman) calls the war chief to the Corn clan house and gives him the jar of water. The war chief takes it to the cacique, who orders him to take it to every house in the pueblo, giving each household a few drops. If there is any water left after this is done, a few drops are put into the water reservoirs on the mesa. If any remains then, the cacique sprinkles some, with prayers, to the cardinal points. Then, if any still remains, the cacique puts it in his household jar. The charcoal is distributed by the Corn clan women to each household in the pueblo, a small bit being placed in each fireplace.[79]

THE O'PI, OR WARRIORS' SOCIETY

There used to be a society of warriors at Acoma. This group was composed of men who had killed an enemy. The killing, however, must be accomplished according to definite prescription. The contest would be hand to hand. The Acoma warrior would mortally wound his opponent, who would fall.[80] Then the victor would take his scalp; he would place his thumb on the crown of the head for a measure and cut around the thumb. The Acoma warrior, having removed the scalp, would chew the flesh and swallow a bit of it.[81] Then he sings with the scalp to the four cardinal points. When he has finished singing he goes to a large red ant hill and draws the scalp across it four times to the cardinal points. Then he picks the scalp up and flings it to his comrade, saying "dyumᵘ" (brother). His comrade catches the scalp; this makes him an o'pi, too. When the other warriors come up they strip all clothing from the two men and throw them on the ant hill. The ants sting them severely. This makes them strong and capable of enduring great pain. When they come back to the pueblo a scalp dance is held.[82]

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[79] My informant was not sure of the meaning of the ceremony. He thought it emphasized (and dramatized) the importance of fire—"all over the whole world." The importance of water, too, is symbolized. But why the Corn clan performs this ceremony rather than some other unit and why these particular k'a'tsina are represented he could not say.

[80] One informant stated that the foe in falling had to touch the Acoma warrior, otherwise he could not become an o'pi. This was denied by a second informant.

[81] The second informant said that one did not chew the scalp.

[82] The scalp dance will be described in connection with the [illegible].

THE K'ACALE

This society is the equivalent of the Rio Grande koshare. It is a secret organization with clown and war functions. They are associated with the sun and with Paiyatyamo.[33] Along the Rio Grande (among the eastern Keres) this society is closely associated with the Flint curing society; sometimes there is a close correspondence of membership, but at Acoma these two societies are quite separate. It is interesting to note, however, that at times of initiation the K'acale use the chambers of the Flint and Fire societies. The K'acale appear at various dances, such as the September masked dance, at the summer solstice sometimes, at natyati, etc. (The war chief decides sometimes whether the K'acale shall come or not.) Their dress is like that of their eastern counterparts, body painted white with black horizontal bands; black rings around eyes and mouth; cornhusk headdress; black breechcloth; barefoot. They dance around and in and out among the dancers. During natyati they lay a line of ashes between the k'atsina dancers and the spectators; if anyone should cross this line the K'acale seize him and take him to Mauharots where they make him dance K'acale. They often amuse the people, too, saying and doing comical things.

The relation between the K'acale and the o·pi will become manifest in the following account of their collaboration with the o·pi in the scalp dances. The K'acale headman tells the society that they belong to the Masewi, and that they must help the o·pi. For a time, during this ceremony, the K'acale are in complete control of the pueblo.[34]

The K'acale society is virtually extinct at Acoma. There remain only one or two of the old members.[35] Nowadays, when the K'acale come, other men impersonate them. They are not real K'acale—they have not been initiated; they do not know their secrets; they merely act like K'acale.

The following is an account of the last scalp dance at Acoma and of the last time new members were initiated into the K'acale society.

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[33] Paiyatyamo, too, is associated with the sun.

[34] Certain features stand out quite clearly in a study of the koshare, their clown, war functions, and their scatological rites. Nevertheless I feel that a thorough understanding of this society has not yet been attained. I do not understand how such a combination of features could have been made. The K'acale are fools at times and at others the most important officials in the pueblo. They amuse and terrify people and disgust them, too, with their filthy rites, and they are associated with the medicine societies, too, in a way. Koshare are to be seen on medicine bowls sometimes. (There are some in the American Museum of Natural History.) It is said also that a witch may assume the guise of a koshare, which seems to indicate that the koshare are powerful in black magic. There is no doubt but that they do possess, or are able to manipulate, supernatural power to a considerable degree. Is the koshare a conglomerate, his several qualities being associated through historical accident, or is he the product of a peculiar psychological situation? I feel the need of a more intimate understanding of these personages, and I feel that it is at this point that a deeper understanding of pueblo religion (and "psychology") could be most profitably pursued.

[35] Why did the K'acale society die out while two curing societies remain with considerable strength, and the katsina cult seems even to be growing? Was it because the o·pi were forced into extinction? Did this remove the reason for their existence? This is a suggestive clue.

It is recounted by a man who was made K'acale at that time, about 40 years ago.

At this time there were just a few o·pi left, and they were old men. There were no more wars, so the society was doomed to extinction; they could get no new members. But the old o·pi decided to have one more scalp dance before they died, so they took the scalps that they had preserved out to Dyaits ko·t (Piñon Mountain), southwest of Acoma. On the east slope they built a Navaho hogan and placed the scalps inside. This was in the fall, about the last of October or the 1st of November. About 1 o'clock in the afternoon a man was seen running toward Acoma with great speed, crying "Ah-h-h-h-h Ai!" the war cry. The boys in the sheep camps were frightened and began driving their flocks toward the pueblo for protection. The village was thrown into turmoil. All the o·pi and other men armed themselves quickly and hurried away from Acoma toward Dyaits ko·t. When they arrived at the hogan they fired several volleys into it. Then two o·pi went in and got the scalps. The warriors rested about the hogan while one of the war chiefs returned to Acoma with the news.

The messenger arrives in the pueblo and goes to the head war chief's house where the cacique and the principales are gathered. When Cutimiti gets the news he goes out and walks through the streets publishing it to the people. He tells the story in detail, recounting each incident of the fight and how they were finally victorious. He tells the people to prepare food to be sent out to the warriors. The women prepare lunches which they bring to the war chief's house, where his cooks receive them. Then some men take the food to Piñon Mountain.

That night in their camp the warriors sing. The next morning they return to the camp with the scalps. The two o·pi who had "renewed" the scalps—i. e., made the killing—were the "head" o·pi for the occasion. (There was another o·pi who was headman as long as he lived.) The warriors wore a headdress of spruce. Their faces were painted with ya·katca, with stcamu·n under the eyes and above the mouth, and with i'piet^{ts} (white) below. They sing the Anakaci'a when they march back into the village with the scalps. They ascended the southwest trail, arriving on the mesa behind the church. The o·pi carried cedar brushes with some hairs from the scalp on them. The women met the warriors. The scalps were carried on a pole. The girls took the cedar brushes with the scalp hairs and waved them. Going around to the door of the church, the sacristano baptized the scalps. This was to "adopt" them into the pueblo. The procession then passed through the seventh dancing station to the eastern edge of the mesa, then west through the first street (the one farthest north) to the chamber of the Fire society, where they turned south to the middle street; then east to the main plaza where they plant the scalp pole in the center.

The scalps are left in the plaza for four days and four nights. Each night they dance in the plaza for four nights. They do not sleep, except to doze a few minutes between dancing. At the end of the fourth day the scalps are taken to the house of the o·pi where they are kept. (See fig. 1 for location of o·pi house.) The scalps are now adopted into the pueblo.

Preparations are now begun for the scalp dance nakatsʼniyanistᵊta Dyuʼ. One of the head o·pi goes to one of the headmen of the k'acale taking four waṣa'n¹ with cigarettes in a corn husk with corn meal. He prays and requests the headman to have enough k'acale for the dance. The other head o·pi goes to the other head k'acale with a similar prayer and request. There were not enough k'acale at that time, so it was necessary to recruit new members. They sought out sons of former k'acale whom they compelled to go to the estufa to be initiated.

There were two groups of k'acale, one having headquarters in Mauharots, the other in the Fire Society house. In addition to the headman of each group there were two k'acale called cu·t¹pai'yatyamᵉ and Cpa·t¹ pai'yatyamᵉ.[a] The other k'acale were called ocatc pai-yatyamo (sun youth). In the dances under the supervision of the k'acale the five estufas divided, Haimatats¹ and Ko·ckasi·ts dancing with Mauharots; Coska·ts, Cutrini·ts, and Daut'kori·ts with the k'acale in the house of the Fire society.

The boys were taken into the estufas. (Narrator of this account was taken to Mauharots.) There were many men there and one woman, a medicine woman belonging to the Flint society. She was k'acale, too. When all were assembled the head k'acale rose and made a little speech. He told them that the k'acale belonged to the Masewi, and that they were to help the o·pi at dances. Then the woman approached the candidates with some ashes; the k'acale headman brought some ya·k'atca (reddish-brown paint). He wet his finger, dipped it in the ya·k'atca and applied some to the crown of the head, the breast, the palm of each hand, and the sole of each foot of each candidate. Then he applied ashes in the same way. The woman tore strips of corn husk, which she crimped, and hung one from each temple of the initiated boys. They wore these for many days. Then they all went home, with instructions to stand in readiness for further orders.

About a week later some of the boys were called into Mauharots; the others were summoned to the house of the Fire society. It was announced that they were going to dance the ahi·na as they now had a sufficient number of k'acale. Then they go out, Mauharots and its two estufas going first, and dance the ahi·na in the plaza. At the end of the song an o·pi announces that in eight days they will have a scalp dance. The k'acale and o·pi from the chamber of the Fire society attended by the men from Coska·ts, Cutrini·ts, and Daut′kori·ts then dance in the plaza. From this time until after the dance the k'acale are in full control in the village.

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[a] Cu·t¹ is a small unidentified bird. Cpa·t¹ is a mocking bird. The head war chief and this k'acale are called cu·t¹ because they have access to any ceremony or household in the village, resembling the bird by this name. Pai'yatyamo means "youth."

On the first evening cuti pai′yatyamᵃ, one of the head k'acale, goes out to get the o·pi to bring them to the estufa; cpati pai′yatyamᵃ brings one woman. (The procedure is the same for each estufa. Cuti pai′yatyamᵃ from Mauharots gets his women from the east end of the village; the cpati pai′yatyamᵃ from the other group secures his women from the west end.) She sits at the k'acale's place in the southeast corner. There is no altar. The men sit in the northwest corner, the o·pi on the west side. They sing and dance. Then the men sit down while one woman (on the second night two women are brought to the estufa, on the third night, three, and so on until the eighth night) stands north of the tsiwai′mətyəm and dances the aci′a while a man stands in front of the fireplace and instructs her. When she has finished, a k'acale conducts her to her seat, and, when the evening is over, to her home. No one may smoke during these eight days unless given cigarettes by the k'acale or the o·pi. Consequently, every evening the heavy smokers of the pueblo come to the estufa for tobacco. This is a rule imposed by Masewi.

On the second day the k'acale hire women to make sweet corn meal. It is ground on the third day and returned to the estufa on the fourth. In the afternoon of that day they go into a side room adjoining the estufa. There they set up their altar. They have one ho′nani (corn ear, q. v.), a bowl for medicine, and several jars of water. They make a sand painting on the floor.

Shortly before sundown they paint and dress themselves in some grotesque manner and go out of the estufa. They climb up on the highest house near by and yell. Then they go about the village by twos, amusing the people, and notifying the men to come to the estufa that evening.

When the k'acale have returned to the estufa they go into the side room and paint themselves all over with i′pictyᵃ (white) with black horizontal bands. Then they prepare the mush. They put filth and human excreta in it, stir it up, and later give it to the people in the next room to drink.

In the next few days the k'acale get together the costumes for the o·pi to wear in the dance, and for the women, the k'otcininak'o. On the eighth evening, the last one preceding the dance, each group of k'acale has eight women in its estufa, practicing; one song is sung for each dance.

The next morning, before daylight, the k'acale come out from their estufas and sing on a housetop. They are not painted yet. Then they go back into the estufas. When they come out again, just before sunrise, they are painted white with horizontal black stripes; the ocatc pai'yatyamo wear old clothes in some grotesque fashion. They call all the men and o·pi to the estufas and the two groups of eight women that are to dance. On this morning they tie two turkey feathers on the left side of the head of all the participants. These are worn the two days of the dance. On the evening of the second day the k'acale remove them and take them out at night, with corn meal, and pray.

At sunrise the first K'acale group comes out from Mauharots. The men of the accompanying estufas comprise the singers; one woman and one o·pi dance. The woman goes ahead, dancing in and out among the singers, the o·pi following behind, dancing. As they arrive at the plaza the k'o·tcininak'o goes out into the middle and dances alone. This dance is also called by its Mexican name, "Montezuma dance." The relatives of the o·pi throw presents to the dancers. When k'o·tcininak'o has finished dancing they all return to Mauharots, and the other group comes out and repeats the same dance. Each estufa group dances eight times, once for each of its k'o·tcininak'o on each of the two days of the dance. When the women have finished on the second day, the father's sister of each one takes her to her (father's sister's) house and bathes her and washes her head. On the eleventh day, the day after the dance, the K'acale go to their estufas, where they await women from their fathers' clans, who take them to their houses and bathe them and wash their heads.[27]

At the close of the dance the K'acale dismantle their altar and sweep up and throw away their sand painting.

THE CAIYAIK, OR HUNTERS' SOCIETY

There used to be a society at Acoma called Caiyaik. It was a secret society; the members were called tcaian¹ (which is the term used for the members of the curing societies). Their business was to supply medicines to hunters to insure their success. They drew upon supernatural power, of course. The mountain lion was their patron beast god, but it is thought (by informants now living) that they prayed to other spirits as well. Just what spirits were offered prayer is not known, although it seems quite certain that they prayed to the sun. Little was learned concerning their paraphernalia and ritual. There seems to be no doubt, however, that they possessed a stone figure of a mountain lion (as do hunters' societies elsewhere). The Caiyaik, in addition to supplying individual hunters with medicines (and fetishes—little mountain lions, perhaps), were in charge of communal hunts, such as rabbit hunts; that is, they were the ones who made the necessary arrangements with the supernatural world, the beasts, etc. The war chief of the pueblo directs the hunt.

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[27] See Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons's article in American Anthropologist, vol. 20, pp. 162–186. The dance she saw at Acoma when new officers were installed was undoubtedly the "Montezuma," or scalp dance. See, also, her The Scalp Ceremonial of Zuñi.

The rabbit hunt.—Nowadays the war chief officiates at the rabbit hunts. He announces the time in the pueblo. All the people go out. They go to some chosen place. The war chief prepares to build a fire. First, he gathers some grass, rabbit manure, sticks, etc., which he puts in a little pile. Then he draws a meal line around it and four lines across it, intersecting at the center (lines from each of the cardinal points and midway between them). A little corn meal is put in the center, too. Then some fresh flowers are gathered and placed on the meal lines and in the center. Then the war chief lights the fire. When the smoke begins to rise the war chief prays: "Sun hunter, I wish you to help me to-day. Cause lots of cottontails and jack rabbits to come together here." The rabbits are supposed to come then. The people go about with clubs (woʙaits) and slings (yaucʙunin) to kill them. It is said that before a person strikes a rabbit the sun will strike it and make it "kind crazy." All the hunters throw corn meal on the fire before they kill rabbits.

When the hunt is over and the people have returned to their homes, the war chief goes around to all the houses and asks for rabbits. If they have killed many, they give him some. When the war chief comes to a house and finds that they have brought home no rabbits, he says to the boys "ba·tco wetstia" ("you must vomit"; i. e., drink herb brew in the morning and vomit). Corn meal is put in the rabbit's mouth after he is brought home, and a pinch of meal is thrown in the fire.

THE FIESTA OF SAN ESTEVAN

San Estevan, the first martyr, is the patron saint of Acoma; his "day" is September 2. A big fiesta is held at this time in his honor. Almost all of the Acoma people from Acomita and McCartys go up to old Acoma on the 1st of September. Many whites, Mexicans, and other Indians from Isleta, Laguna, Zuñi, Navaho, etc., come to spend the day.

Early in the morning of the 2d, just at sunrise, the great bells in the old Spanish church are tolled. The village, which during the summer months is practically deserted, is swarming with people, bustling about getting ready for the ceremonies. The war chiefs are at work on the little house which is to shelter the saint when he is removed from the church. It is a small structure about 12 by 18 feet, made of poles and covered over with green cottonwood boughs. Bunches of green corn are laid alongside the walls at the entrance. The inside walls are hung with the nicest Navaho rugs to be found. A table is in the rear, ready to receive the saint. Benches are arranged along the walls. The entrance is wide open.

Many people (Indians only, though I believe I did see a Mexican once) sell fruit, melons, ice cream, etc., near the plaza during the day. They set up their little stands early in the forenoon.

The church is opened and made ready for the services. The priest arrives about 9.30, but visits with friends for a time before preparing for Mass. This is the only time during the year that Mass is held at old Acoma. The church is very large. There are no seats; people stand or kneel.

Church services begin about 10 o'clock. Most of the people attend, although some of the old people do not come. I have seen some of the old people come in some time before the services began, go up to the altar and kneel and pray, and then go out. Whether they were shy about attending the services, or whether they preferred to worship in their own way, or whether they were simply shirking, I could not say.

The priest, assisted by some Indian boys, conducts Mass. Then he makes a speech in Spanish, which is translated by the governor. He makes announcements, perhaps, and tells the people again why they are honoring San Estevan, and that they should lead good lives, etc.

Then the saint is taken out of the church. The governor and his lieutenants and the fiscales come in and take the saint from his place at the altar and carry him on a litter out of the church; all the people fall in behind. When the saint reaches the door a drummer beats a small drum (using two drum sticks; one is always used in the regular Indian ceremonies). When the saint is carried outdoors, several men fire rifles into the air.[58] Then the saint is carried all through the village, up one street and down another. As the procession passes points of the mesa, boys fire revolvers into the air. When the circuit of the village is completed the saint is brought to the little bough structure and deposited on the table in the rear. Candles are lighted and placed near by. Women bring in great quantities of bread, melons, and bowls of meat (rabbit or mutton) stew, for the saint. Some old men, the war chiefs, etc., sit on the benches in the house with the saint.

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[58] I do not know why these shots are fired. One informant did not know; another said that it was to drive away the bad (witches).

It is now about noon. The dancers are getting ready. The priest remains in the church after the saint leaves to talk to anyone who wishes to see him and to marry couples who have waited for this occasion. Sometimes a couple that has been "married"—i. e., lived as man and wife—come at this time to have their union receive the sanction of the Catholic Church. Sometimes the dancers come out and dance once before noon.

After dinner the dance begins. There is great hospitality shown at this fiesta. Ordinarily, strangers are received at old Acoma with suspicion, distrust, and surliness—in addition to charging all visitors $1 per head for the privilege of inspecting the pueblo, but at the feast of St. Stephen, Acoma is hostess to everyone. Indians from other villages and Navahos are housed and fed. Even white people are treated with some kindness and hospitality. Several people who had never before shown any inclination to be kind to me invited me to have dinner with them during the fiesta.

There are two groups of dancers, each coming from its own kiva. They file into the plaza, dancing; men and women alternate in the line. A group of men, usually old men, follow, singing. One man carries a great drum which is beaten very loudly. At the head of the line of dancers is a man carrying a long pole which is "dressed just like the dancers." It is called ocatc paiyatyamo (sun youth). At the top of the pole is a bunch of colored parrot feathers like the headdress of the men dancers. Then there is usually a bulb of wood (resembling in size and shape an "Indian club") painted green with a band of white and black. Then comes a ceremonial sash, made of cotton and embroidered with colored yarn, which is also worn by the dancers. A fox skin hangs down from the point where the sash is fastened (just as a fox skin hangs down from the waist of the men dancers, in the back). The man who carries this standard moves about in the plaza during the dance, sometimes at one end of the line of dancers, sometimes in front of them at the middle.

The costume of the dancers is quite like that of all fiesta dancers in the eastern pueblos.[59] The men wear parrot feathers in their hair at the crown of the head. Their hair, which is freshly washed, hangs down their back. They are nude to the waist. Their bodies are painted (sometimes one group will be painted blue green and the other a sort of reddish brown). They wear the usual dance kilt, or skirt, with the cloud and weather symbols on the side. They wear bells around their legs below the knee, or at the ankle. Sometimes they tie hanks of colored yarn around the leg below the knee. They wear moccasins topped with skunk fur. They carry a gourd rattle in the right hand and a bunch of spruce twigs in the left.

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[59] There is an excellent photograph of fiesta dancers in Kidder's Southwestern Archeology, p. 48.

The women wear a "manta" (a black woolen dress, without sleeves and fastening over the right shoulder only). Their feet and legs are bare. A wooden tablita or head board is worn over the head. They carry spruce in each hand.

The dance lasts all afternoon. First one group dances, then another. Between dances they rest and practice songs. After the first dance all of the dancers file into the little house where the saint is and pray to him, one man and one woman kneeling before him at a time. Along toward the close of the afternoon the two kiva groups come out at the same time and dance together. Various dance figures are executed throughout the afternoon. There is no individual performance; it is entirely a group affair. Indeed there is no leader so far as anyone can see, but all of the dancers keep step, turn, etc., at the precise moment and in perfect coordination.

At the close of the dance all of the dancers gather near the house of the saint. Before they stop dancing the war chief begins to pray. He prays in a droning, singsong voice. Then all of the dancers stop and kneel. The war chief prays and thanks the people for dancing for the saint. Then the saint is carried back to the church, followed by the dancers and some people.

That evening, after supper, people visit with each other. Usually one large house is cleared, and they have a "corn dance." There is no costume; men and women just dance to singing and a gourd rattle. Sometimes they have a "Mexican dance"; i. e., three Mexicans, one with a guitar, another with an accordion, and the third with a fiddle, play American jazz and a variety of Mexican selections. The young men and girls dance together.[30]

The fiesta dance at Acoma is not as well done as at the Keresan villages in the east. The costumes are not pure; there is a mixture of Indian and white. Some men wear union suits and American shoes, socks, and garters. Some even wear shirts and trousers, but some of the men, especially the older men, insist upon purity of costume. The dancing itself is inferior to that of their eastern cousins; it lacks finish. I think this is to be attributed, in part at least, to the fact that the eastern pueblos are stimulated by comparisons with each other. They visit each other at fiesta times, and compare notes; and, of course, each village is anxious to appear well in the dancing. Acoma, on the other hand, is quite isolated. She has only Laguna to compete with, and she is even worse. The young people at Acoma are not particularly interested in putting on a finished dance; that means a lot of work. About all they want is to have a good time, and the old men are not greatly concerned either, for the saint's feast is not really an important event. It can not compare with a k'atsina ceremony. Consequently the art is declining.

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[30] Some of the old folks disapprove of these dances very much; it is another step away from the old ways.

Christmas Eve and Christmas Week

On Christmas Eve people (those who care to do so) bring small clay figures of horses, cattle, sheep, corn, etc., into the church in baskets or bowls. They place them on the floor and pray to God and to San Estevan. A cross is placed in the bowl for God. This is to encourage a generous multiplication of beasts and crops during the year to come. These figures are kept in the church four days, after which they are taken out and deposited in fields, at the base of cedar bushes, or in cracks in rocks.

After midnight, on Christmas Eve, many people come to the church to pray. They pray to God, Jesus Christ, and to their patron, San Estevan. At sunrise they dance.

During the four days that follow there is much dancing in the church. They dance buffalo, eagle, Comanche dances, etc. No masks are worn. These dances are not esoteric, and are not connected with the k'atsina. They are danced merely for pleasure.

Rooster Pulls[91]

On the morning of a chicken pull one Flint and one Fire shaman go to the house of the war chief to make medicine. The rooster is given this medicine to drink. They pray to the rooster. Then some of this medicine is put into the white clay with which the men paint their hands. Two men from the group are chosen to be the first to grab the fowl. The war chief makes four wasa'n' (feather bunch), each accompanied by a wi'icʜ' (reed cigarette), which are wrapped in a corn husk. He gives a package of this kind to each of the two first men. They pray with the wasa'n'. The rooster is suspended from a crosspiece between two poles, erected in the plaza.[92] Before they start, the men paint their hands in the plaza, using the white clay mixed with medicine. All the men run under the crosspiece several times before the two men, who have already been chosen, seize the rooster and tear him down. Then everyone pursues the man with the rooster. They grab it and fight with it. In the end he is torn to pieces. It is said that rooster blood is "good for rain."[93]

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[91] These are always held on some saint's day. Chickens were introduced into the pueblos by the Spaniards.

[92] Sometimes, after the first pull in the plaza, a rooster is buried in the sand at the foot of the mesa. Men on horses ride by until some one snatches him out of the sand. Then they fight with him.

[93] It is interesting to note how this alien custom is interpreted in terms of the native philosophy of rain making.

THE MEDICINE CULT

There are four medicine societies at Acoma, viz, the Flint (Hictian'), Fire (H'a·k'an'), Kasina,[94] and Shiwanna ("Thundercloud") Societies.[95] There are also snake medicine men, but they do not constitute a society; they are simply individuals who treat snake bites. Neither the Shiwanna nor the snake medicine men are of much consequence. They are quite unimportant so far as sickness is concerned, and they exert even less influence in the ceremonial and political life of the pueblo. The chief purpose of the Shiwanna Society is to treat persons who have been shocked by lightning and to set broken bones. They also treat persons who have "a bad smell from the stomach" (halitosis?). It is the three societies, the Fire, Flint, and Kasina, that are really important. They cure ailments due to the machinations of witches and purge the village of these evil spirits. They also exert a very great influence in the politico-religious life of the people.

These societies are secret organizations whose chief purpose is to combat witches. They are composed of men and women, and children who are old enough to be intrusted with secrets. The women, however, merely assist the men at ceremonies; they do not cure. A headman (naicdia, father) presides over the society; he summons them when necessary, supervises the ceremonies, etc. The Fire Society has a chamber in which its meetings are held (fig. 1).[96] The Flint Society usually holds its ceremonies in the head estufa, Mauharots, unless it is being occupied by the cacique, when it "rents a house somewhere else" (almost any large room would do). Kasina, as we have noted before, kept his paraphernalia in an "east side room" (hak'aiya) adjoining Mauharots.

Disease, its cause and cure.—Everyone at Acoma knows, of course, that if you violate some of the simple but important rules of hygiene you will become sick; you should not eat too many green peaches. They have a number of herb medicines which they employ in treating minor ailments or complaints, and I have no doubt but that some of them possess healing properties of real merit. But if an ailment becomes serious, does not respond readily to these simple treatments, it is evident that the person in question has been stricken by a witch. It then becomes necessary to secure the services of a medicine man or a society.

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[94] Informants at Acoma did not know what kasina means. An informant at Santo Domingo said that it meant, or was applied to, a person who "ate too much." The kasina society became extinct at Acoma during the winter of 1926–27. There was only one man left in the summer of 1926. Since his death his functions have been taken over by the Flint Society; I understood that the head of the Flint Society initiated the war chief at his installation in 1925.

[95] An informant about 30 years old told me that "there used to be" bear, eagle, giant, lizard (me'yu), ant, and cikame medicine societies at Acoma. I do not know what this statement is worth; certainly none of these societies has existed there within the past few generations.

[96] The chamber of the Fire Society was referred to as a k'aatc, which is the term for the kiva (or estufa) of the kachina organization. In structure, so far as I could learn, it is similar to the regular kiva. Kivas in the eastern Keresan villages are called tci·kya.

There are many witches in the world, evil spirits whose sole purpose is to injure people, to make them sick.[97] A witch may appear in a number of guises. He may come as almost any kind of animal or bird or he may appear as a person. Sometimes persons in the pueblo itself prove to be witches. There is no sign by which one may recognize a witch in the body of a dog, or an owl, or a person. This fact makes witches even more insidious and dangerous. One can detect a witch only by associating some person or animal with some malady. For the layman this association amounts to little more than mere suspicion (sometimes abetted by jealousy or dislike in the case of persons accused of witchcraft). But the medicine men are infallible. When by means of their instruments and rituals they have secured power from the animal medicine men they can see and know everything.

Witches cause disease in two ways. They shoot such things as thorns, sticks, pebbles, broken glass, rags, yarn, or snakes into some one's body, or they steal a person's heart and make off with it.[98] In either case, of course, the patient becomes very ill and will die unless the objects are removed or the heart returned.

A person who is ill may secure treatment from a medicine society (or a single doctor) if he so desires. A sick person is not compelled to submit to treatment, but the medicine men are obligated to treat any person applying to them for aid.

Whether one doctor or an entire society is summoned depends upon the wishes of the patient (and his immediate senior kin) and upon the nature of the ailment. If the ailment is relatively slight, one doctor only may be called; if the illness is quite serious an entire society would probably be summoned.

If one medicine man is to be called, the father of the patient makes a prayer stick and prays for the health of his child. Then he places the stick in the hands of the sick one, who prays. Then the father takes the prayer stick to the doctor who has been chosen and asks him to come.

The doctor visits the patient, bringing with him two eagle plumes and a gourd rattle, and some buckskin bags of medicine. He sings, prays, and smokes. He examines the patient to determine the location of the objects which have been injected by the witch. He removes them by sucking them out, or in some cases he withdraws them with his eagle plumes. He also "whips disease away" with the plumes. He will treat the patient for four days and nights, if necessary, coming several times during the day and evening to see him. If at the end of that time the patient's condition is not much improved it is quite likely that another doctor, or an entire society, will be summoned. The doctor is paid for his services in corn meal, flour, or other commodities of value.

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[97] There is a feeling among the Indians, however, that witches do not, or can not, injure white people. There is no reason why the Indians should prefer white physicians to their own, they say; each one treats his own ailments—the white doctor for white diseases, the Indian for Indian; and witch diseases are peculiar to Indians and can be treated only by native medicine men.

[98] The first method seems to be more common than the second. I received one account of witchcraft at Acoma that described another method of causing illness. There was an epidemic of whooping cough in the pueblo. Persons walking about the village late at night heard a man walking around the houses. He was beating a drum, making a gasping sound which resembled coughing and gasping. He was a witch who was responsible for the sickness in the pueblo. Perhaps this case may represent another category in the etiology of disease which might be formulated as follows: A witch by simulating the symptoms of a disease may spread sickness among the people. This is, of course, a species of sympathetic magic.

Curing by a society.—A patient may desire to have an entire society treat him. If he is critically ill the entire society usually comes; if the patient wishes to join the society upon recovery the whole group always comes. It happens, however, that a whole society might come with all its paraphernalia and treat a patient who had not expressed his intention of joining.[99]

If the patient expresses a desire to join a curing society he tells his father, naming the society of his choice. The father and other relatives of the patient then make some waʙani (feather bunches, q. v.). The father takes one and prays with it, asking that his child may recover from his illness. Then he places the feather bunch that he has just used in the hands of the sick child, who prays. Then the father takes the waʙani to the headman (naicᴅia) of the society and asks him to cure his child. The headman calls his doctors together, distributes the waʙani among them, and tells them about the sick child. They agree upon a time to visit the patient (they go at once if he is critically ill), after which they go out with their feather bunches and pray for their success.

At the time appointed the society comes to the house of the sick person, bringing their paraphernalia with them. A room has been cleared of furniture and placed at their disposal. They set up their altar and lay out their paraphernalia.[1] Each doctor has a ho'nani (corn ear fetish, q. v.) which is laid out in front of the altar. (Pl. 1, *b*.) Then there are medicine bowls, small stone figures of animals, the beast gods,[2] bear paws, large flints, a bowl of water and a gourd dipper, a refuse bowl, a rock crystal (quartz ?), etc. The medicine men are nude, except for a breechcloth. They have a black band painted across the face covering the eyes. They have their long hair tied up in front with a corn husk. Two short turkey feathers are worn at each temple.

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[99] There is some confusion in the accounts of two informants on this point. One stated that the doctors would not dress, or rather undress, and paint themselves if the patient did not wish to join. Another stated that the ceremony by the group was the same whether the patient wished to join or not. However, there is this difference between the two situations: If the patient does not wish to join, the society is summoned with corn meal; if he does wish to join, the family and relatives of the patient make waʙani, which are taken to the headman.

[1] I received two pictures of this altar from two informants. The other picture is included in the section Paraphernalia and Ritual (q. v.). These two pictures are quite different in design and structure. It is possible, of course, that neither informant was guilty of misrepresentation. They might have been describing different altars, although each stated that the one he had drawn represented the altars of both the Fire and the Flint societies. (Kasina had a different kind of altar; it was described in the account of the initiation of the war chief.) If, however, either informant is at fault, I am inclined to believe that it is the one who drew the most elaborate picture. At Acoma this altar is called yaʙaicini. Among the eastern Keres yaʙaicini refers to the sand painting which the medicine societies outline on the floor at cures. At Santo Domingo and at San Felipe a wooden slat altar is not used in curing ceremonies. They have one, which they call altcin, which is used at solstice ceremonies (and perhaps at retreats).

The patient is brought in and placed on a blanket on the floor.[3] The father or mother and perhaps one or two relatives may be there, but the general public is not admitted.

The head medicine man begins to mix the medicine (wawa). He takes a gourd dipperful of water from the water jar which he pours into the medicine bowl (waititcani), singing the while a song to the north.[4] Then another dipperful with a song to the west, and so on through south and east. Then he fills the bowl. Perhaps he sings another song or two. Then he takes from his collection of buckskin bags some herb medicines which he sprinkles in the medicine bowl.[5] Then the other medicine men put in their medicines. If there are any women tcaiani they put their medicines in last.

Then diagnosis and cure are begun. The headman picks up the small rock crystal which lies before the altar and peers through it at the patient. This crystal (ma·caiyoyo) enables the medicine man to see the objects which have been injected into the patient's body. He can see witches, too. In fact, a doctor can see anything anywhere with the aid of this lens; even if he be blind ordinarily, he can see during curing ceremonies with the aid of this crystal.[6] When naicᴅia (the headman of the society) has finished his examination each doctor in turn uses the crystal to inspect the patient.[7]

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[2] The medicine men do not themselves possess "power" to oppose witches and to cure ailments caused by them. They receive the power necessary from certain animal spirits who are the "real" medicine men. These are the bear, who ranks first, the mountain lion (who probably comes next), the eagle, badger, snake, and wolf. One animal is associated with each cardinal point, but my informant was not sure of the point to which each belonged.

[3] If the patient is a boy he is brought in naked. Girls wear only a cotton dress; the body must be free for examination.

[4] Four colors correspond to the cardinal points: North is yellow, west blue, south red, and east white.

[5] The medicine men gather their herb medicines on Mount Taylor, which lies 20 or 25 miles to the north of Acoma, and whose summit is approximately 4,000 feet above the elevation of Acoma. The doctors walk all the way; it takes them several days to go, gather herbs, and return. At the summit they deposit prayer sticks in the depression which was once the mouth of the volcano. Several days are spent after the medicine men return to Acoma in grinding their medicines and putting them away for future use. Some of these medicines are dispensed at this time to households for their own use.

[6] The following incident is rather interesting: An old medicine man had a son who had been away to school and who had returned a "progressive"; he did not fall in line readily with his father's way of life. So he ran away. No one knew where he had gone, but it was rumored that he had gone to California. The old man wanted his son to come back. He told others that he would bring him back all right, he "had power"; he could find him and make him return. Some of the younger folk who were also progressives and in sympathy with the runaway "kidded the old man along" (mildly), and asked him why he didn't get out his ma·caiyoyo and find his son that way.

[7] Each medicine man makes his own diagnosis, and there is no consultation among them afterwards; each man does as he thinks best. Also each doctor puts his own herbs into the medicine bowl according to his own notions and without considering the kinds already put in by his colleagues.

All of the doctors save two go behind the altar, sit down, and begin to sing. The two remaining in front dance in front of the altar and about the patient. They hold an eagle wing feather in each hand. They move these about the patient with cutting and slashing motions (away from the patient); they are "whipping the disease away." Then they lay their eagle feathers by the altar. They go to the sick person and massage him here and there. If they succeed in finding some foreign object in his body they suck it out. They go over to the refuse bowl and spit it out in the bowl ("you can see it when it comes out of their mouth, and hear it when it falls in the bowl").[8] They gargle their throats, wash their hands, and go back of the altar. Two other doctors come out and repeat the process. All of the medicine men cure in this way; the headman is last. The women doctors (if there are any) merely sing; they never perform any cures.

When the curing is finished the headman gives the patient medicine from the medicine bowl.[9] It is administered externally or internally or both. The remaining medicine is given to the members of the patient's household, who drink it.

This concludes the ceremony. The doctors go home, leaving two of their number to watch the patient. The altar, with its attendant paraphernalia, remains in place for four days, after which it is removed to the society house. The patient is attended by the doctors in turn until he recovers—or dies. The attending doctors pray and sing a great deal. If the patient recovers he will be pledged to the society effecting the cure, although he may not be initiated for a year or two thereafter. The society will receive no compensation upon the recovery of the patient, but will receive a considerable quantity of corn meal, flour, bread, etc., when he is formally initiated.

During the four days of curing the doctors may not eat salt or meat. Also, during this period, and for four days thereafter, they may not sleep with their wives, nor bathe nor wash their heads.[10]

Securing new members.—As we have just seen, a person may join a medicine society after having been cured by it. This is the most approved way of becoming a medicine man. Theoretically, a person may become a member of a curing society without having been ill; he could request to be initiated, and if accepted, he would be made a medicine man. This method, however, is almost unheard of. Then there is a third way of recruiting new members, viz, by "trapping" persons and compelling them to join against their will.

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[8] They spit out stones, thorns, rags, yarn, and sometimes a snake, a live one.

[9] The medicine bowls have four terraced sides. They are black and white. Bears, snakes, lions, lightning, and cloud symbols are painted on the bowls.

[10] Compare with Stevenson's accounts of curing ceremonies; e. g., the ceremony of the Giant Society, pp. 97–101, The Sia.

There are several ways in which a person may be trapped by a medicine man. If a medicine man asks a youth (or man) for a cigarette (usually when with a group of men) and the youth gives him one after having lighted it, the medicine man will take a puff, touch the youth, and say, "You are my son." Then the youth may be compelled to join the society of the man who trapped him. Youths are, therefore, careful not to hand a medicine man a cigarette that they have been smoking; if a doctor asks for a smoke they give him a cigarette unlighted.

During the initiation ceremonies of the Fire Society lines of ashes are drawn in the street near their house. If anyone should step over one of these lines a medicine man (who will be on the roof watching) will chase him. The person who has stepped across the ashes will run to his house as fast as he can. If the doctor catches him before he reaches the ladder which leans against his house, the victim must join the society. If, however, the person who has violated this prescription of the medicine society succeeds in catching hold of the rungs of his house ladder, he is safe.

Also, during the initiation ceremonies of the Fire Society, for a specified period of time, no one may build a fire out of doors, or carry live coals outside. If anyone breaks this rule he will be compelled to join the society.[11]

Trapping persons and forcing them to join a society is far less desirable than securing new members of their own free will. But of late years it has become increasingly necessary for the medicine societies to recruit their ranks in this way; fewer people are joining voluntarily. One might think that a person who had been forced to become a medicine man would rebel and fail to give them spiritual allegiance after his initiation. This may be true in some cases. I knew of a young man who had spent some years at Haskell Institute, who was quite intelligent and spoke English very well, who was trapped by a medicine society. He had been a lukewarm liberal before his initiation. After he became a full-fledged medicine man, however, he became just like his colleagues; he was just as conscientious in the performance of his work as anyone else. And, it was said, he became possessed of considerable "power."

Initiation of new members.—A society usually does not have an initiation ceremony until it has at least two persons to join. (This means that a person might wait two or three years for an initiation.) When a society decides to initiate the headman tells the war chief, and he informs the cacique. A date is set (by the medicine society, with the advice and consent of the cacique and war chief), usually two weeks in advance. This gives everyone time to prepare for the event; the relatives of the initiates grind corn, make flour, bread, etc., which will be given to the medicine men.

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[11] It was said that this rule was employed by the Flint Society as well, but I am not sure that it is true.

The ceremonies of initiation are concluded with a public exhibition held in the chamber of the society. Four days before this night the novices will be taken to the house of the society. There they are kept for four days and nights. No one except medicine men know what goes on during this time. Nonmedicine men seem to think, however, that the candidates are subjected to very trying and even painful ordeals. It is thought that they are given some filthy, nasty, or otherwise unpleasant medicine to drink. But, unfortunately, these conjectures must remain conjectures until data can be secured from the medicine men themselves. It is not to be doubted, though, I believe, that the candidates are instructed in many things, such as prayers, songs, medicines, paraphernalia, and feats of magic, for young doctors often display great skill and proficiency soon after their initiation.

After the four days and nights of seclusion the society holds a public ceremony in their chamber. It commences after supper, just after dark. Anyone may attend. Those who are especially eager (such as friends and relatives of the candidates) come early, as the chamber will hold only 30 or 40 persons. When they come in they find the altar of the society set up, with the customary paraphernalia (the corn-ear fetishes, honani, the medicine bowls, flints, bear paws, stone figures of the animal spirits, etc.) laid on the floor in front. The medicine men are dressed as for a curing ceremony: naked save for a breechcloth, faces painted with the horizontal black band, their hair tied up with a corn husk, two turkey feathers at each temple, etc. On the four walls are painted an eagle, a bear, cloud and rain symbols, a water snake, a koshare, etc. (q. v.). Each doctor carries a rattle in the right hand and two eagle plumes in the left (the boy candidates have them too, but the girls are empty handed). (Pls. 11, 12.)

All of the doctors except two sit behind the altar and sing. The two remaining in front dance. When they have finished they take their places behind the altar and two others dance. All of the doctors dance, by twos; the headman and the candidates dance last. When they have finished the candidate goes about the chamber demonstrating his newly acquired powers. He goes to the pictures on the walls and gathers from them, between his two palms, seeds of various kinds, which he distributes to the people present. Then he goes around the chamber "curing" people. Having selected some person, he will withdraw from the body a pebble, stick, or string, with his eagle plumes. Or, he may massage some part of his body and then suck some object out.

When the candidates have finished the headman prays and the ceremony ends. The candidates are kept in the society chamber that night and returned to their homes in the morning.

Fire and sword jugglery of the Fire Society.—After the 4-day period in their chamber the Fire Society has an outdoor fire ceremony.[12] The war chief orders people throughout the village to bring firewood to the house of the Fire Society. The medicine men dig a shallow pit in front of their house. Lines of ashes are drawn around the pit and the front of the house. No one may cross these lines; if someone does, and is caught, he will be initiated into the society. The women members of the society bring four large black pots out of the house and place them near a wall in front of the chamber. The pots are partly filled with water. About noon a fire is built in the pit; a considerable quantity of wood is thrown on. The women build a fire under the pots. Then they all go into the chamber (except one or two, who keep watch on the roof).

After a time they come out. The men are naked (except for a breechcloth) and barefooted. They are painted with ashes. Their long hair is tied up on top of the head. Two short turkey feathers are worn at each temple. They carry a gourd rattle in the right hand and two eagle wing feathers in the left. Leather wristlets are worn on the left forearm. The female members wear a calico dress. Their arms, feet, and legs are bare.

The women bring four baskets of corn meal out of the chamber. The meal is put in the four pots of boiling water. They stir the boiling mush. It is thick. They stir it with their bare hands. They take it out in balls and throw it to people who are gathered about on housetops.

When all the mush has been thrown to the people all the medicine men (and women) go to the pit. It is full of ashes and glowing coals. They dance around the pit, counterclockwise, while they sing four songs. Then the medicine men give their rattles to the medicine women. They tuck their eagle plumes into their wristlets. The fifth song is begun. Naicᴅia (the headman) stoops down by the pit and stirs the ashes and live coals with his bare hands. Then he jumps into the hot bed of coals (jumping from west to east). All of the doctors follow suit (the women do not, however).

When all of the doctors have jumped into the fire a medicine woman throws a basket of shelled corn into the pit. The doctors then seize the boy who is being initiated and throw him into the pit on top of the shelled corn. He alights on his back. The doctors all stoop over him and quickly stir everything together—the ashes, live coals, shelled corn, and the screaming boy. Then they take him

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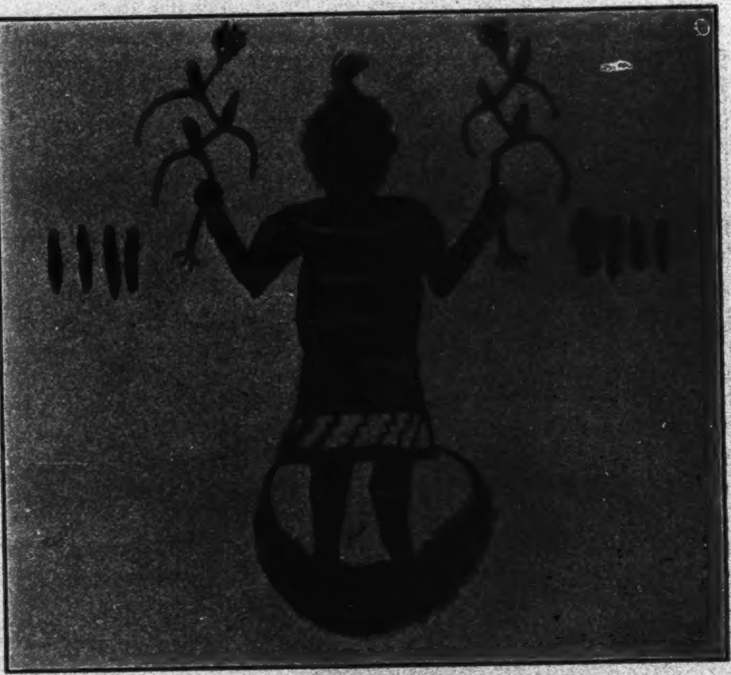
[12] Acoma resembles Zuñi at this point more than Rio Grande pueblos. Fire and sword jugglery is prominent at Zuñi, but not found at either Santo Domingo or San Felipe.

a. Cloud, rain, and lightning symbols, with horned snake



b. Representation of a Koshare standing on the moon, holding corn in each hand. The four marks on either side mean that rain will fall for four days before and after each moon

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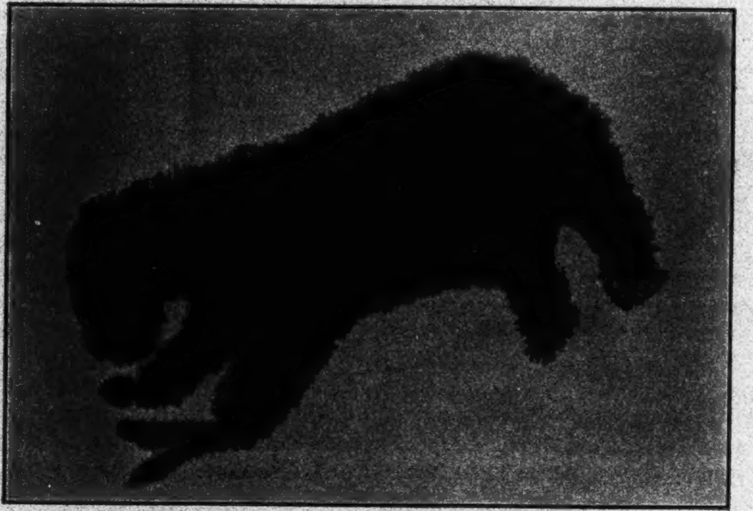
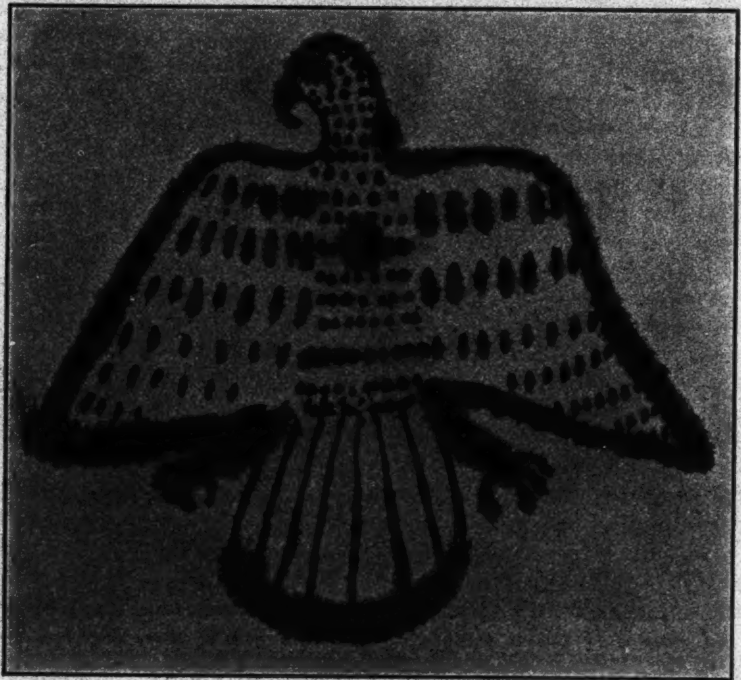
WALL PAINTINGS



a. Bear "medicine man" with eagle plumes and rattle. Painted on wall of chamber when a boy is made a medicine man



b. Eagle painted on wall of chamber at time of initiation into a medicine society

WALL PAINTINGS

out and make him stand. All of the candidates are thrown into the pit in like fashion. If there are any girl candidates they are thrown in too, but after the boys, when it will not be so hot.

When all of the candidates have been taken from the pit the head man withdraws the ashes, coals, and shelled corn from the pit with his hands and scatters them about on the ground. Then the doctors go into their chamber. As the head man is ascending the ladder he announces to the people that they will have a sword-swallowing ceremony in eight days. When the doctors have gone in the people gather about the pit and pick up the parched corn.

About seven days later some of the doctors go out to the mountains and get some small spruce (or other) trees. They leave the tops untouched, but whittle the butt down, making it quite small and very smooth (they are going to swallow this). This wooden sword which they swallow is called oado·ts. They have some made of flat boards, into which designs have been cut. They are painted. The women dance with carved and painted boards in their hands. They are called amakaiyumᵃ (they are catalogued in museums, usually, as "dance wands").

On the eighth day they dress for the dance. The men wear a close-fitting skull cap with small downy feathers glued on it. Their shirts are blue, red, or yellow. They wear new moccasins, with leggings that reach to the knee (there are usually silver buttons in the front of the leggings, in a line from top to bottom). They wear a white dancing kilt. A fox skin hangs from the waist in the back. Their legs are painted white. They wear two turkey feathers at each temple and a white downy eagle feather at the crown. There is considerable variety among the men's costumes, except for the dancing kilts, which are all alike. The women members wear mantas (white woven cotton mantas with terraces, etc., embroidered on the ends), white moccasins, and leggings. They wear varicolored ribbons in their hair instead of feathers. The faces of both men and women are painted with ya·katca (reddish brown) from the mouth upward. They have some black (stcamu·n) beneath the eyes. They are painted with i·pictya (white clay) beneath the mouth.

The next morning they come out at sunrise, dressed for the dance.[11] They dance toward the east. This takes them to the big plaza. The men go first; the women follow. One man carries a large drum. When they reach the plaza they form a line from east to west, facing north. The men keep dancing. Then one man, carrying an oado·ts, and one woman step forward and dance to the middle of the plaza. They dance higher and faster. Then the man moistens his oado·ts

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[11] If they prepare their costumes on the eighth day, they dance on the ninth. If the dance is to be on the eighth day, they prepare on the seventh.

(sword) with saliva (or, it may be smeared with honey). Then he thrusts the stick down his throat. He dances with it for a time, thus. The woman merely accompanies him, dancing with her amakaiyumᵉ. Sometimes he swallows two swords at once. This couple is replaced by another, and another, until all have danced with the sticks down their throats. The candidates who are being initiated also swallow the swords.

When all have finished they return to their chamber, where they rest for a while. Then they return to the plaza, where they dance and swallow swords as before. They dance thus four times during the forenoon. They usually vary their costume a trifle, such as changing a blue shirt for a yellow one, etc. They have lunch in their chamber. After a short rest they go back to the plaza to dance again. They dance four times during the afternoon. Many people are there all day watching them.

This concludes their ceremonies.

The communal curing.—Communal curing ceremonies are usually held in the spring, shortly before the people leave old Acoma for their farms. Whether one is held or not depends upon the cacique; he will order one if he thinks it expedient.[14] If the cacique decides that it is necessary, he sends for the war chief. When the war chief arrives the cacique greets him, taking both his hands, and seats him. Then the cacique prays and offers (cigarette, wi·icsi) smoke to the cardinal points, and to wenimatsⁱ. When he has finished the cacique tells the war chief that a communal curing ceremony should be held to cure everyone who has a cold or who is sick and to purge the whole village of evil spirits (witches, k'anadyaiya).

The war chief departs, but soon returns with his lieutenants and the cooks. They busy themselves making waʙani (feather bunches, q. v.), one for each medicine man. They make two balls of cotton, each containing a quantity of beads, corn meal, pollen, ya·k'atca, stcamu·n (paints), etc., in the center. The war chief sends his cooks out to tell the headmen of the curing societies to await a visit from the war chiefs.

When they have finished making the waʙanⁱ and the itsatyunᵉ (the cotton balls), the head war chief (cutimiti) takes some of the waʙani and one of the balls of cotton to the house of one of the head medicine men. Cpatimiti, the first lieutenant war chief, visits the other head medicine man, also with waʙani and itsatyunᵉ.

When the war chief arrives at the house of one of the head medicine men he calls out "K'aiya!" (a greeting). The medicine man responds "Ha'ai!" "May I come in?" the war chief asks. "Yes!" "Will you receive me friendly?" the war chief again asks. "Yes! Come in." The war chief enters and says "Guatzi!" ("Hello!"). "Dawai! eh!" replies the medicine man. The medicine man brings a stool for the war chief and seats him. Then he makes a corn-husk cigarette for the war chief. When the war chief has laid down his cigarette the medicine man asks, "Now, father, what do you want with me?" The war chief tells him that the cacique has decided that a communal curing ceremony is necessary and that he wishes the medicine societies to make the necessary preparations. The war chief then places the waʙani and the itsatyun* in the medicine man's hands, and, placing his own under those of the doctor, prays. Then he leaves.

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[14] Sometimes a general curing is held; sometimes not. If an epidemic should strike the pueblo at any time (other than spring), the cacique would probably order a general curing.

The headman calls his men together and tells them to prepare for a curing ceremony. Each medicine man places his hands under the basket containing the waʙani and the itsatyun* and prays. Then naicᴅia (the headman) divides these articles among the doctors. Each goes out and prays, burying the articles afterwards. Later a joint meeting is held by the two societies in one of the chambers.[15] They decide upon a date for the ceremony. The war chief informs the cacique. The cacique instructs the war chief to publish the news to the people.[16] The ceremony will be held four days after the announcement is made.

On the day the announcement is made the "little chiefs" (the tcukacac hotceni; the war chief's aides) bring the unmarried girls to the war chief's house, where they shell corn. Then the little chiefs take this corn about through the village, leaving it at various houses to be ground. The women return the corn meal to the house of the war chief. Then the little chiefs take the meal to various houses to be made into guayaves (little loaves of bread). They also take wood from the woodpile of the war chief to the houses to cook the bread. The women return with the guayaves on the third day. The war chief gives them some for their trouble. (The war chief has kept back half of the corn meal and flour to give to the medicine men.) The little chiefs go about the village asking for meat for the feast (which is to take place on the night of the curing). On the third day the people of the village divide themselves (approximately) into three divisions, each one to supply the medicine men with one of the day's meals. On the fourth day the women are busy preparing food to be given the medicine men that evening.

The medicine men vomit with herb brew every morning for four mornings preceding the cure. On the day before the ceremony they retire to their houses. They set up their altars. They paint the walls of their chambers with pictures of bears, eagles, mountain lions, snakes, and, perhaps, some k'atsina or koshare.

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[15] It will be remembered that kapina joined the Flint Society in cures.

[16] This news is published by the war chief, who walks through the streets of the pueblo instead of calling from a housetop, as is done at other pueblos.

At about 8 o'clock on the evening of the ceremony the war chief goes through the village summoning the people to the curing chambers. Everyone has bathed for the occasion. The pueblo is divided into two groups; one goes to the chamber of the Fire Society, the other to the Flint Society's house (the Flint Society uses the head estufa, Mauharota, unless it is otherwise occupied). Some of the people do not go to the curing chambers (there would not be room for them all); so they remain in their houses, keeping them brightly lighted all night.

The people throng into the curing chambers, men, women, and children. The men wear only a breechcloth. They wear a blanket when they enter, but they remove it and fold it up to sit on. The women wear a simple dress. (There is a side room for the women with young babies.) Two medicine men stand at the foot of the ladder. They lead the people to seats with their eagle plumes. Some people come early in order to get the best seats, which are the places against the wall. (This allows them to lean back and rest; the others have to sit bolt upright throughout the night.)

As the people enter the chamber (fig. 3) the medicine men are sitting behind their altar, singing. (All of their paraphernalia is laid out in front of the altar.) They have their hair tied up in front with a corn husk. Two turkey feathers are worn at each temple. They wear a small breechcloth, supported by a woven belt (such as are worn around the waist by women). They have vertical white stripes painted on their bodies. The women members paint their faces with ya'k'atca (reddish brown) with a bit of stcamu'n (black) over it.

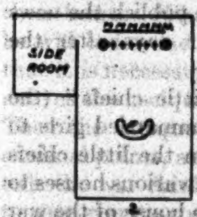

FIGURE 3.—Diagram of curing chamber. M—medicine men. ++—their iarriko. ●●—medicine bowls. F—fireplace.

Seated near the west end of the altar are two cloud men (henatitite; henati is cloud). They were appointed by the headman of the society at the time the date for the ceremony was set. Their business is to make cigarettes during the ceremony. They come early and set to work. As they finish a cigarette they lay it down in front of them until someone calls for it. When, during the ceremony, a doctor has finished dancing or curing, one of the cloud men lights a cigarette and hands it to him. If anyone in the chamber wants to smoke during the ceremony he must ask one of the cloud men for a cigarette.

When the chamber is filled a medicine woman brings in a jar of water and a gourd dipper. The head man begins to fill the medicine bowls. Six gourdfuls are dipped for the cardinal points (including zenith and nadir). Then the bowl is filled. The other medicine bowl is filled in the same way. Then the doctors put herb medicines into the bowls, taking them from their little buckskin bags. The headman puts his medicine in first.

During this time there is much singing by the doctors who sit behind the altar. Prayers, too, are said, chiefly by the headman. These prayers are offered to almost all of the supernaturals, such as the sun, the earth, etc., but chiefly to the animal medicine men: the bear, mountain lion, badger, eagle, and snake.[17] They ask these spirits to help them.

When the medicines have been prepared the headman rises and addresses the gathering. He tells the people to be brave and to do their best, that they must suffer for the good of the whole world, etc. He assures them that the medicine men are doing their best. The doctors resume their singing. Naiᴄᴅɪᴀ (the headman) goes to the medicine bowls. He stirs each one with a large flint (the largest one in the collection; it is also called naiᴄᴅɪᴀ, or father). Then he dips his eagle plumes into the medicine and sprinkles one doctor on each end of the line seated behind the altar. Then the headman goes back of the altar and sits down.

The two doctors who have been sprinkled begin to gesticulate and grunt "Ah′ Ah′." Then they come out in front. They hop about in front of the altar "squatting like an eagle."[18] A medicine woman brings some ashes from the fireplace (which is called k′ohaiya, or bear) and places them on the floor before the altar. Then the two doctors in front begin to sing. They dip their eagle plumes in the ashes and go about the chamber "whipping the disease away."[19] Sometimes a doctor extracts some foreign object from a person's body with his plumes.

The two doctors now lay their eagle plumes by the altar. They daub themselves all over with ashes. They peer into one of the medicine bowls, placing a hand just beneath the eyes (the palm is at right angles to the face). When they look into the medicine bowl they "can see witches." Then they look about the room. They are looking for some one to cure. When a doctor has selected some one, he goes to him and begins to massage some part of his body. He removes some object—a stick, thorn, stone, or some rags. He may remove it with his hands, or he may suck it out. When an object is removed with the hands or with the eagle plumes it is usually caused to vanish. This is accomplished by holding one hand up, well above the head, and the other down below the waist. Then the positions of the hands are swiftly reversed. The palms of the hands slap smartly as they pass each other. This causes the object to pass out of the chamber (theoretically each corner of the chamber is open) and on "out of the world." When an object is sucked from the body the doctor spits it out in his hand. He shows it to his patient and to the people near by. Then he rolls it in the pile of ashes before the altar and deposits it in the refuse bowl, or, instead of dipping it in ashes, he may burn it in one of the tallow lights that burn at the fireplace, and then put it in the refuse bowl. While going about the chamber curing people, the two doctors grunt like a bear.

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[17] One informant stated in this connection that the medicine men called upon the "four great rivers that flow to the south." I could not learn the significance of this reference from him, and other informants had not heard of it.

[18] During curing ceremonies the doctors frequently imitate the cries or movements of the animal medicine men, particularly the bear, eagle, and mountain lion.

[19] Ashes are used as a prophylactic against witches. The "whipping" motions with the plumes are sharp, cutting movements, the arms moving like the blades of a huge scissors. Motions away from patients are also made.

When they have finished they wash their hands, gargle their throats, and spit in the refuse bowl. They take up their eagle plumes again and sprinkle two doctors (the end men) seated behind the altar. Then they go to their seats behind the altar while the second couple comes out and repeats the performance of the first two. All of the doctors take their turn at curing.

During the ceremony the war chief and his lieutenants, who always guard medicine men during curing ceremonies, come down from the roof where they have been guarding the entrance and are cured by the doctors.

When all of the doctors have had their turn at curing naicɒia (the headman) comes out in front of the altar. He picks up the rock crystal, the ma·caiyoyo, dips it into the medicine (wawa), and looks through it. Then he kneels and holds it before the eyes of the doctors, saying "Doa hi hi!" (here, look!). Each medicine man looks through the translucent rock. They are looking for witches.[30] Then all of the doctors come out from behind the altar. The headman rubs the eyes of each one as he comes out, with the ma·caiyoyo dipped in wawa (medicine). Then naicɒia lays the rock down and goes back of the altar. The doctors run and jump about the room. "Maybe they're mad (angry)." They cure people. They may grab a person and take him to the fireplace and rub him with a bear paw. They may dip the ma·caiyoyo in the medicine bowl again and rub their eyes with it again.

Then some medicine men prepare to leave the chamber. They are going out to cure people who have remained in the houses and to rid the pueblo of any witches who might be lurking about. They draw the skin of a bear's foreleg on their left forearm. They carry a large flint knife in the right hand. One group of doctors (the two society groups, it must be remembered, are curing at this time, each in its own house) goes about the village, curing people in the houses. The other group goes to the foot of the mesa where livestock has been secured in corrals. They "whip disease away" from the horses, cattle, and sheep, with their eagle plumes. When the group returns from the houses to the curing chamber the doctors vomit forth various objects which they have sucked out. When the doctors have all returned the headman rubs their eyes again with the ma·caiyoyo, and if they see any witches they go out again. Sometimes they fight with witches which they find lurking about the houses. The doctors return to the chamber, after a fight with witches, smeared with "blood and black."

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[30] Witches are quite likely to gather around a curing chamber during a ceremony. They want to injure the medicine men.

It is now time to get the winock (heart).[21] Naiçpia rubs the eyes of three or four medicine men, and they go out to get the "heart." They wear their bear paws and carry flint knives. They go arm in arm. A war chief accompanies them.

After a time they return. A medicine man representing a bear and called k'ohaiya (bear) comes in first. He crawls on his hands and knees, grunting like a bear. He carries the winock (heart) between the bear paw in his left hand and the flint in his right. Two other medicine men representing mountain lions stay up on top of the chamber a while, fighting; then they come into the chamber. K'ohaiya (the "bear" medicine man) crawls along the floor, going toward the altar. The head medicine man grabs the heart away from him. The other doctors then seize him quickly and hold him, for he fights violently. The mountain lions fight, too. The headman and one or two others sprinkle them with medicine from their eagle plumes. Gradually they become quiet; they lie down on the floor as if completely exhausted.[22]

Naiçpia now takes the heart to the altar. He kneels, facing the people, and begins to untie the strings which bind the winock (heart). Each string he scorches at a tallow light and then deposits it in the refuse bowl. He unwraps the rags. Inside are many kernels of corn. He lays aside defective grains.[23] He tells the people that they should be very thankful to receive the heart from their mother, Iatik^{u}.

A medicine woman brings the headman a basket for the shelled corn. Again the corn is examined, the defective grains being placed by the medicine bowls. Then he goes about the room distributing the corn to the people. Each person receives one grain. He goes to the west side first, then south, then east. He goes into the side room where the women with small children are. He gives each woman a grain for herself and one for each child. If the child is too small to swallow his kernel the mother chews it for the child and spits it into his mouth.

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[21] Among the eastern Keres the winock represents the heart of a patient which has been stolen by a witch. In the present instance this heart is said to have been made at Cipap^{u} by Iatik^{u}, the mother of the Indians. It is a ball of rags, with a quantity of shelled corn in the center.

[22] The "lion" medicine men try to escape. They are restrained, for, it is said, if they got away they would become real mountain lions.

[23] It is said that one person will die in the village for each defective grain.

When everyone has received his kernel the war chief is called in and given the basket. He keeps a kernel of corn for himself; the rest he takes around the village and distributes it to the persons who have remained in their houses.

When the war chiefs return the headman asks two doctors to come out from behind the altar. The medicine (wáwa) is going to be administered now. Each doctor picks up a medicine bowl. They pray. Then they go about the chamber, giving each person a draught of medicine in a shell. The war chiefs are given some first. Some people get two doses. Then they go back to the altar. They fill their mouths with the wawa (medicine) and blow it all over the people. Then the medicine men and medicine women are given medicine to drink, and more is blown from the mouth over them. The medicine bowls are put back in their places. The headman addresses the people. He thanks the medicine men for their work and thanks the people for their help. He hopes that everything will be all right, etc.

Everyone leaves now except the medicine men. It is almost dawn, the ceremony having lasted all night. The wives of the medicine men gather up the paraphernalia of their husbands, which they take to their homes. The objects which have been sucked from the people are taken out, together with a lunch for the spirits, and thrown over a cliff.[34] The medicine men sleep in their chamber for four nights thereafter.

Feats of magic of the medicine men.—We have already noted a number of magical performances of the medicine men, such as are found in their curing and initiation ceremonies, but they have many others. Not infrequently the medicine men will perform some magical feat to convince some skeptic of their genuine prowess. A young man who was fairly well educated, quite progressive, and who frankly and openly "did not believe in the tcaiani (medicine men)" told me of two episodes as follows:

One night there was a curing ceremony in progress. This young man (I shall call him Juan) was sitting near the doctors; he wanted to see how they accomplished their miracles. The medicine men well knew that he was skeptical. So one of them told him to follow him as he went out of the chamber. They went out to the eastern edge of the mesa. It was a bright moonlit night, and there was snow on the ground. It was almost as bright as day. The doctor stopped at the edge of the mesa. At this point a finger of rock rises from the flats 400 feet below to the level of the mesa. It is about 40 feet from the main mesa. Juan said that the medicine man backed away from the edge of the mesa a bit and then started running toward the pinnacle of rock. Just before he reached the edge of the mesa he put his flint down to the ground. A shower of sparks flew forth. The medicine man left the ground, soared through the air, and alighted on the pinnacle of rock 40 feet away (the intervening chasm was over 300 feet deep). Then, in like manner, the doctor jumped back to the mesa.

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[34] This food, according to my notes, is offered to the witches, but something causes me to doubt this at the present writing.

Episode 2. Then the doctor told Juan that they were going to descend the trail which is near this point. I have inspected these points closely. The trail is very difficult to negotiate, even for the Indians, and at this time it was covered with snow. The medicine man told Juan that it would be too dangerous for him (Juan) to go down by himself, so he told Juan to climb on his back. Juan jumped on the doctor's back (the doctor was quite a small man). "Put your arms around my neck," the doctor told him, "and don't open your eyes. If you open your eyes, we'll both fall." Juan did as he was told. "I had no more than got myself fixed on his back and closed my eyes," Juan said, "when the medicine man said, 'All right; open your eyes.' I opened my eyes and we were down at the foot of the mesa."

Another informant told me that once he was attending a curing ceremony. A medicine man had been curing a patient; he had been sucking things from his body. When he tried to vomit them out he could not do it. He tried and tried. "You could see he was in great pain. He broke out all over in a sweat, and he began to writhe in agony." One of the other medicine men came over to help him. He laid the sick doctor over on his back. Then he picked up a big flint knife and cut him open (cutting a median line down his thorax and abdomen). "When he cut him open you could see his heart and stomach and everything." The doctor looked inside the body and took out a big ball of cactus thorns, which he threw into the refuse bowl. Then the doctor closed the great incision. He rubbed the flint over it, clapped his hands, and blew on it, and it was just like it was before; you would not know that he had been cut open. Finally the doctor who had swallowed the thorns got up and staggered over to the altar.

The following story is also of interest: There was an epidemic of whooping cough. At night they heard a man walking through the village beating a drum; it sounded just like a person coughing. It was a witch who was making people sick. So the medicine societies held a meeting. They set up their altar and laid out their paraphernalia. With the aid of their ma·caiyoyo (the rock crystal which gives second sight) they located the witch. So some medicine men armed themselves with their bear paws and flint knives and set out to capture him, while all the people waited. They went out west of Acoma, about 3 miles. There they found a horse fully saddled and bridled. It was a horse named "Bessie" which was kept at the Indian school at Albuquerque. They caught a man (the witch) near by and brought him back to the chamber. The people inside heard the medicine men struggling with him on the roof of the chamber. Then they saw the feet and legs of the witch man being pushed down into the room. When he had been pushed in as far as his waist he suddenly turned into a rat which dropped to the floor and scurried about the room. The medicine men caught the rat and killed him and threw him in the fireplace. Then they told the people the name of the witch.[28] It was a young man from Acoma who at that time was at the Indian school at Albuquerque.

The next day about noon the government farmer at Acoma received a phone message from Albuquerque stating that the boy who had been named a witch the night before at Acoma had killed himself by jumping from the third floor of his dormitory. When his body was brought home it was not buried in the churchyard because he was a witch.

It is said that some medicine men can produce green corn, bushes with fresh berries on them, etc., in the dead of winter.

Medicine men and the kachina cult.—We have already noted a number of functions performed by the medicine men in connection with the masked dancer organization, viz, at the initiation, their assistance at dances, etc. Also, there are a number of masks that may be worn only by medicine men, such as aaikan¹ (see list of masks). Among the eastern Keres a medicine society always goes into retreat (i. e., retires to its chamber for four days and nights to pray and perform certain rituals) before a masked dance for rain. It is said that this was done at Acoma at one time but is no longer observed. But then the Acoma scheme is quite different from that in vogue on the Rio Grande. In the east several masked dances are held during the summer for rain, each dance lasting one day only. At Acoma there is only one rain dance, and it lasts four days. The medicine societies do not own any masks, however, nor do they use any in either curing or initiation ceremonies.[29]

Other ceremonial functions of medicine men.—We have already noted the functions of the medicine men at the solstices, and their impersonation of the two headmen of the k'ozictaiya; also the rôle of kanina tcaiani at the initiation of the war chiefs. The part played by them at elections has also been discussed. Their rôle in connection with birth and death will be treated in our discussion of the life of a typical individual.

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[28] The name of the witch is never divulged until the animal whose form the witch has assumed is killed. If it were told before, the witch could get away.

[29] At Santo Domingo and San Felipe medicine societies use masks in initiation ceremonies but not for curing. The Giant Society at Cochiti has one mask that is used at cures.

Summary comment.[27]—The medicine societies are very important at Acoma, as indeed they are at other Keresan villages. The kachina cult and the medicine cult loom up as the two most important phases of ceremonialism. It is difficult to say which is the more important. The kachina cult is more ostentatious, more spectacular, but the medicine cult is older and more deeply rooted in the life of the people. Their range of activities is much wider and their influence, so far as social control is concerned, is unsurpassed.

PARAPHERNALIA AND RITUAL

Prayers are said often at Acoma. As we have already seen, the war chief rouses the people at dawn to pray to the rising sun, at intervals throughout the year. They sprinkle a pinch of corn meal as they pray. Some of the old men, especially officers, carry a buckskin bag of corn meal with them. The war chiefs carry a small leather pouch of meal slung over one shoulder with a strap. Prayers are frequently said with corn meal; sometimes a person will pause at the opening in the wall of a kiva adjoining a street and deposit a pinch of meal in it, with a prayer, as he passes. It is a custom to offer a bit of food at meal time to Iatik^u, to naiya h'ats^i (mother earth), and to the k'atsina, with a prayer, before eating. The morsel is then thrown into the fireplace.

ROCK SHRINES (OKATSIM^i)[28]

There are many small columns or piles of rocks, varying in height from 12 inches to 2½ feet, near Acoma and Acomita. There are many at old Acoma on the mesa south of the village; at Acomita they are located on the mesa south of the houses. There are others in other localities also. These are said to be erected to the Shiwanna or k'atsina. When one puts a rock on one of these columns he first holds it up, spits on it, and then lays it down "so no bad luck will happen."

When one has gone on a long trip and is about to return it is proper for him to pick up a rock or stick, spit on it, and throw it backward, so no evil luck will follow him.

PRAYER STICKS (HA·TCAMUN^i)

These instruments are, as we have seen throughout the ceremonies, very important; no important occasion passes without them.[29]

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[27] See White, Leslie A., Medicine Societies of the Keresan Pueblos, in Proceedings of the Twenty-third International Congress of Americanists.

[28] See Doctor Parsons's War God Shrines of Laguna and Zuñi, American Anthropologist, vol. 20, No. 4, October–December, 1918.

[29] Except ceremonies of the curing societies.

Prayer sticks are of varying sizes and are carved in a great number of ways. They are usually made of willow, although spruce (or cedar), and possibly oak, is sometimes used. (I found one stick that was made of what seemed to be the stalk of the soapweed plant.) The accompanying diagrams illustrate the size, shape, and design of some of the prayer sticks.[39]

Prayer sticks are always cut from living trees or bushes; dead wood would be useless. The prayer sticks are felt to be animate; some of them have eyes and mouth painted on one end, usually upon a facet which has been cut to represent a face. They also have sex, the males having green faces and the females faces of yellow. They are deposited by twos or by fours. Sticks for Masewi and Oyoyewi (the twin war gods) are painted red, "because blood is red"; some are carved to represent an arrow or club. Prayer sticks in the shape of a shepherd's crook or cane (g'onac) are offered to the k'atsina, who use them to walk with, it is said.

DESCRIPTIONS OF PRAYER STICKS

A. (Collection No. B17.) Willow. Blue paint on peeled end, with possibly some yellow on the very tip. Undoubtedly had feathers tied to butt end. Length, 14 cm.

B. (Collection No. A7.) Willow. No paint visible. Note that on this stick the feathers are tied in the groove farthest from the peeled end; on stick A they are tied in the groove nearest the peeled end. Length, 18 cm.

C. (Collection No. A8.) Willow. There seems to have been yellow paint between the grooves, and a paint midway between them and the beveled tip, but this is doubtful. Definite traces of blue paint are found on the beveled surface. Note plant fiber tied around butt end. Length, 15 cm.

D, E, F, and G were found in a small niche on the face of a high mesa about 4 miles south of Acoma, about 200 feet from the bottom and 150 feet from the top of the mesa. There were no other sticks in the vicinity. Informant said that they were probably deposited there by a war chief, one stick being deposited at the time of installation each year. When four sticks had been deposited in one place, another site was chosen. The sticks were made, he thought, by the war chief, with instructions from the cacique. This is largely conjecture on the informant's part, for one not a war chief would not know much about such matters. But it is quite certain, I believe, that these sticks were made and deposited by some officer. Moreover, they show different degrees of weathering, which indicates that they were deposited at different times. D, E, and G are of spruce (ha'k'ak'); F is also, I believe, but I am not sure. Note that they all have faces (the beveled facets). Note, also, that each bears a lightning symbol, running down from the grooves, point downward. D has two lightning marks. E and G were said to represent spruce trees. When the clouds come down from the mountains the tips of these tree sticks catch them and hold them, causing rain. D was said to represent a woman (k'otcininak'o) bearing a jar of water on her head. No interpretation was given for F. These sticks are markedly different from any others I have seen at Acoma (some 200), and noticeably different from those in the American Museum of Natural History. Lengths: D, 19 cm.; E, 36 cm.; F, 26 cm.; G, 22 cm. (Pl. 13.)

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[39] I collected about 40 prayer sticks at old Acoma and at some canyons southeast of the pueblo. I also saw several hundred sticks on a ledge at old Acoma. They had been thrown over the cliff and were plainly visible but out of reach. I also secured drawings of sticks from an informant.

H, I, J, and K (collection Nos. B3, B7, B1, and B9) were said to have been offered to Masewi. They are painted red "because blood is red." H and J are double arrows; they may strike both ways. I is a club (drai'its). K is a weapon, a sort of arrow and club combined. Sticks such as these are offered to Masewi to secure strength to fight, to vanquish a foe, or to protect himself. I do not know whether feathers were attached or not. Lengths: H, 8 cm.; I, 9 cm.; J, 11 cm.; K, 8 cm. (Pl. 14.)

L. (Collection No. A6.) Willow. Blue paint from the grooves to about the mid-point between them and the end; the upper half is yellowish in color, but I can not determine whether it is the natural color of the wood or paint (stain). Length, 20 cm.

M. (Collection No. A10.) Kind of wood undetermined. Blue paint over entire peeled surface. This stick is shown because of the short point on the peeled (head) end; it contrasts with A, which is pointed from the grooves to the end. Both L and M had feathers tied to the butt. Length, 18.5 cm.

N and O. Crook only; peeled. No paint visible. Height, 15 cm. Both O and P, according to informant, are called g'o'nac (cane). In the dances some k'a·'tsina carry canes. It was said that these sticks were offered when one was going to take a long trip and needed strength. Doctor Parsons was told at Jemez that this crook was "to pull down the rain." (See The Pueblo of Jemez, p. 102.) (Pl. 14.)

P. Bark entirely removed. Painted reddish-brown (ya·k'atca). Height, 15 cm.

Q, R, and S. Q is a stick split in half. The black line down the middle is a "road." R is a kick stick. S, a loop of cat-tail stems. They are placed in the order shown, in an arroyo in the early spring, by the war chief. The water runs down the road, washes the kick stick into the mack'utc (loop), which carries the kick stick down into the fields. This keeps the fields moist all summer. Q and R have eyes and mouth. (I found Q. R and S were painted by an informant.)

T. Bow and arrow and shield. Painted red. Offered to Masewi. From drawing; none were found. (Pl. 15.)

The prayer sticks are made by the persons who deposit them. One person does not see another make his stick (although sometimes a whole group of sticks is placed in one or two baskets and later distributed to dancers, as in the natyati). One is alone, also, when he deposits the stick, with a prayer. At old Acoma most of the prayer sticks are thrown over the cliff at various points, although some are buried at the foot of the mesa by some great rocks (at the foot of the sand trail). Sticks are also deposited in canyons or clefts in mesas at some distance from Acoma. No one touches a stick after it has been used.

When I asked an informant why his people prayed with prayer sticks he replied " 'Cause that's the way they do," which is, without doubt, the reason. It seems, however, that the prayer sticks are felt to serve as vehicles of prayer. The feathers which are tied to them are light, and they "float like clouds" to Wenimats'. They also seem to be regarded as gifts to the k'atsina. "They like to get these hatcamuni from us."

I took 35 prayer sticks and classified them according to design, paintings, etc. I found about 17 different types. There were three or four sticks in each of a few types, but only one in many others. The classification was based upon the following factors: Kind of wood, shape of the "head" (i. e., the peeled) end, whether pointed, beveled, or cut square across, the number and position of the grooves, the position of feathers, color—red, yellow, or green. There were 10 sticks, each of which was different in its combination of the above elements from any other stick. I tried to have these sticks classified by informants, but the results were very unsatisfactory; not only did the informants disagree, but the same informant betrayed deplorable discrepancies in repeated classifications (at intervals of time). There are, I believe, three factors which determine the precise design of a prayer stick: (*a*) The person or group making it—i. e., whether it be the cacique or the war chief, or dancers from Haimatats or Dautkorits estufas; (*b*) the occasion—e. g., a solstice, at natyati, etc.; (*c*) the spirit to whom the stick is offered—Iatik^u, Masewi or the k'atsina. Each one of these three groups of factors contains a great many elements. There are many groups in the village, many supernaturals, and a great variety of occasions for honoring them. The combinations and permutations made possible by all of these factors (each represented by a stylistic device) must be very numerous indeed. If 17 types are found in 35 sticks, how many would be found in 300 sticks? The difficulty encountered in having informants classify prayer sticks is due largely, I believe, to the high esoteric character of these items of paraphernalia; one group probably does not know anything about the stick used by another. The most one could expect from a single person would be a complete list of sticks that he himself would use on all occasions and for all spirits.

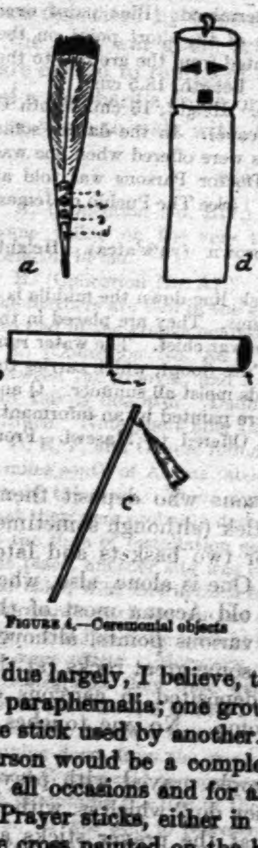
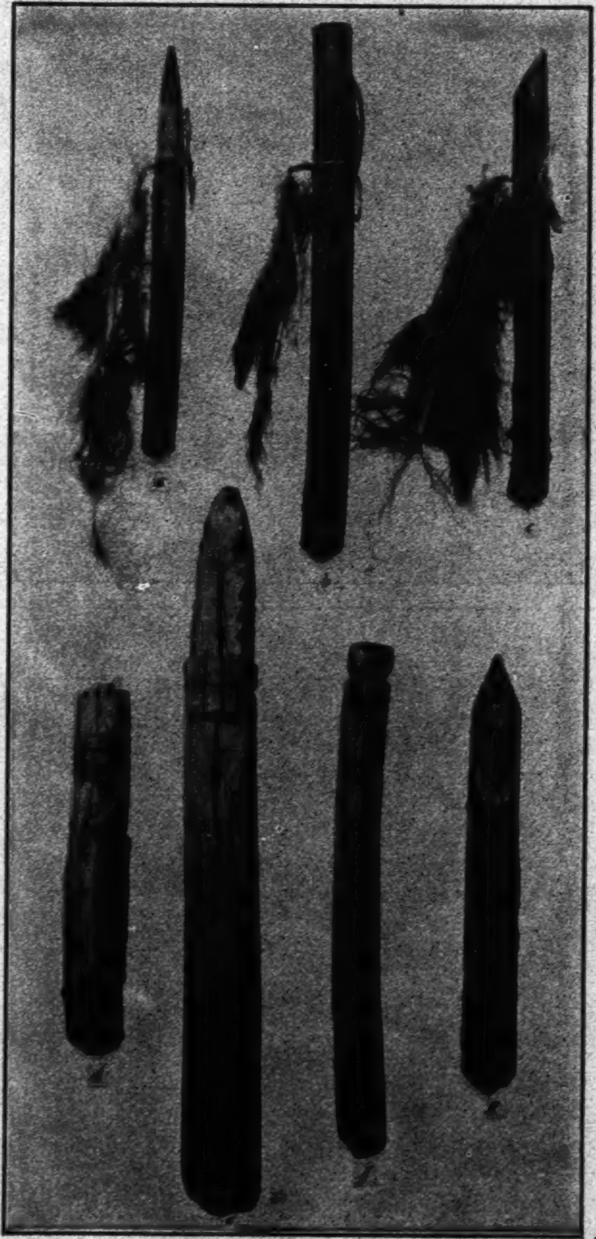


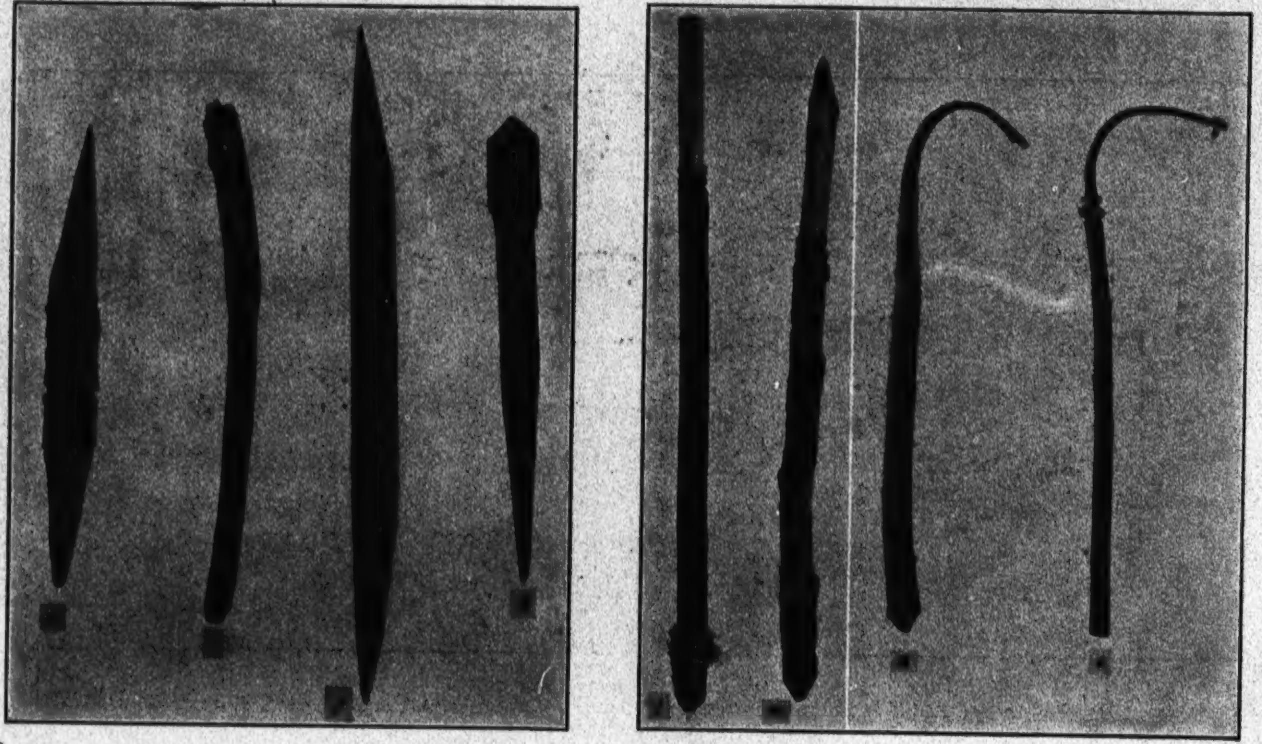
FIGURE 4.—Ceremonial objects

Prayer sticks, either in the shape of a cross or a single stick with the cross painted on the head end, are offered to the Catholic God. They are painted with eyes and mouth, and feathers are tied to them as to other prayer sticks. Years ago, it is said, God (called Yo·cthi, from Spanish Dios?) said to Iatik^u, the mother of the Indians, "If



ACOMA PRAYER STICKS

UNIV. OF MICH.



ACOMA PRAYER STICKS

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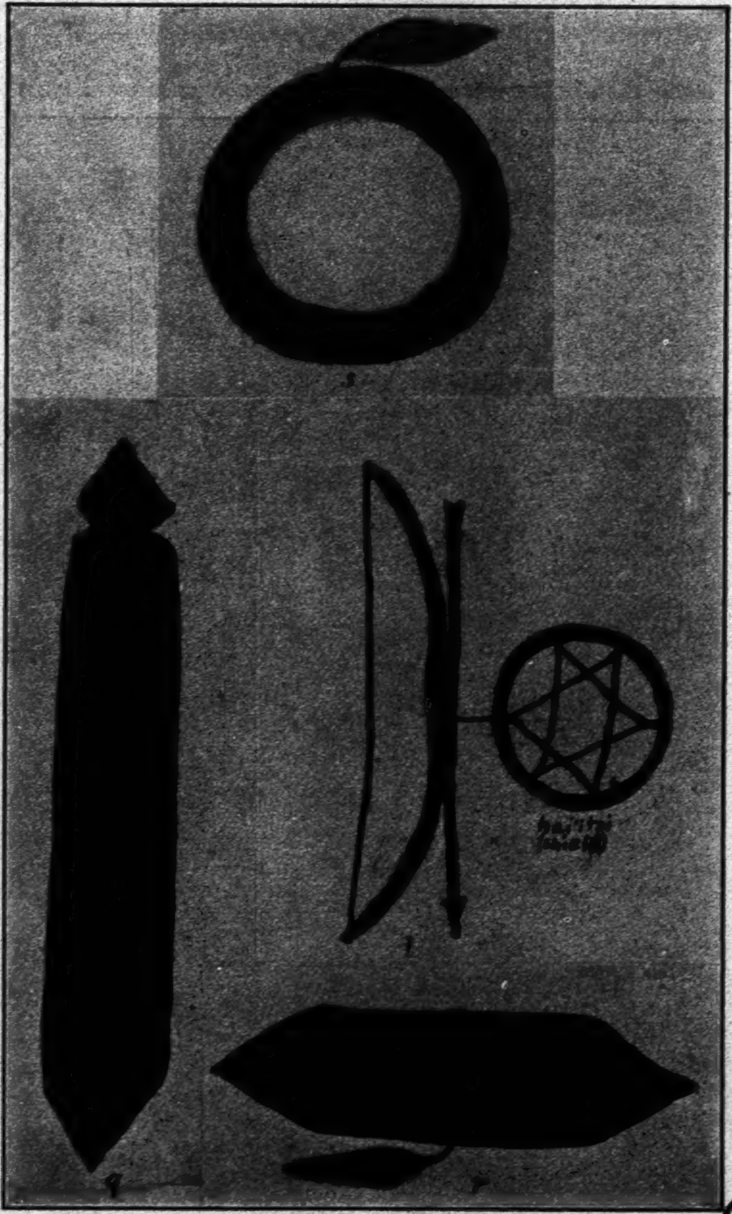

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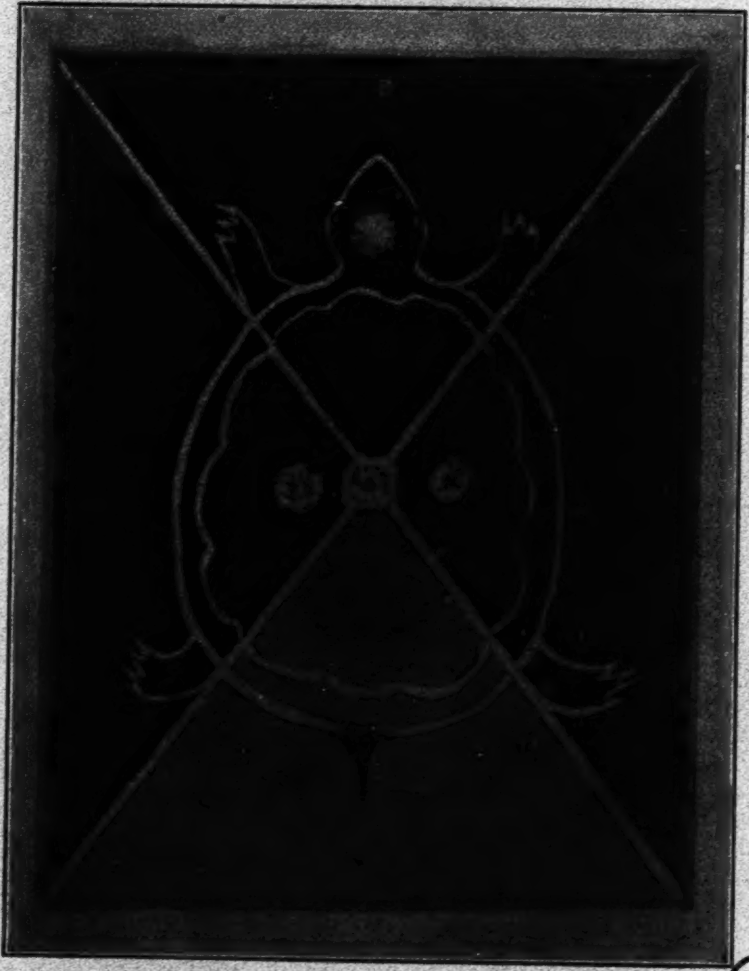

SAND PAINTING FOR CHILD-NAMING CEREMONY

UNIV. OF MICH.

your people will pray to me I will help them." Iatik^{u} did not object; but whenever a stick is offered to God, one for Iatik^{u} is always included.

The waʙan^{1} is shown in the accompanying diagram. (Fig. 4, *a*.) They are used in much the same way that prayer sticks are.

A wi′icʙi, or ceremonial cigarette, is shown in Figure 4, *b*.

A ya·ʙi is a staff, or cane, about 3 feet long, with a waʙan^{1} tied to one or both ends. A yaʙi is a symbol of office, and contains "power." (Fig. 4, *c*.)

A kachina doll is shown in Figure 4, *d*.

THE HO′NAN^{1}

This is the chief fetish of a medicine man. It is a corn ear, a perfect one, completely kerneled to the tip. It is wrapped with native cotton. The base is inserted in a sheath of buckskin. It is placed in an upright position in front of the altar during ceremonies. The top is encircled with strings of beads and decked with vari-colored parrot feathers. It is very similar to the mili described by Mrs. Stevenson in The Zuñi Indians (pp. 418–420). Ho′nan^{1} is the Hopi word for badger.[31] In the Keresan pueblos of the Rio Grande this fetish is called i′arik^{e} (i′atik^{u}). Why the word ho′nan^{1} is used at Acoma I can not say. The badger is an important medicine animal because he digs roots out of the ground.

THE ALTARS

These have already been mentioned in connection with ceremonies and have been illustrated with drawings. As we indicated, there is some doubt regarding the construction of the altar of the Fire and the Flint Societies, raised by the discrepancies of different drawings of them.[32] (Fig. 5.) I am left with an uncomfortable suspicion of the altar attributed to the Antelope clan (the cacique's altar). I was not able to secure drawings of this altar from another informant.

Wood from a tree that has been struck by lightning is the best for the manufacture of altars. It is best to secure this wood from Mount Taylor. A 55-year-old informant told me that the altars used when he was a boy have been replaced with new ones, as the old ones were almost worn to fragments. The new ones are much larger, he said, and are more neatly and skillfully made, since American tools were used instead of aboriginal ones in their manufacture. It is said that when an altar becomes too old for use it is taken out and hidden in some canyon or on a mountain. I was shown a mesa some distance south of Acoma, where, it is said, an old altar is hidden.

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[31] Fewkes, J. W., in Handbook of American Indians, pt. 1, p. [illegible].

[32] See the other drawing of a curing society's altar on p. 130.

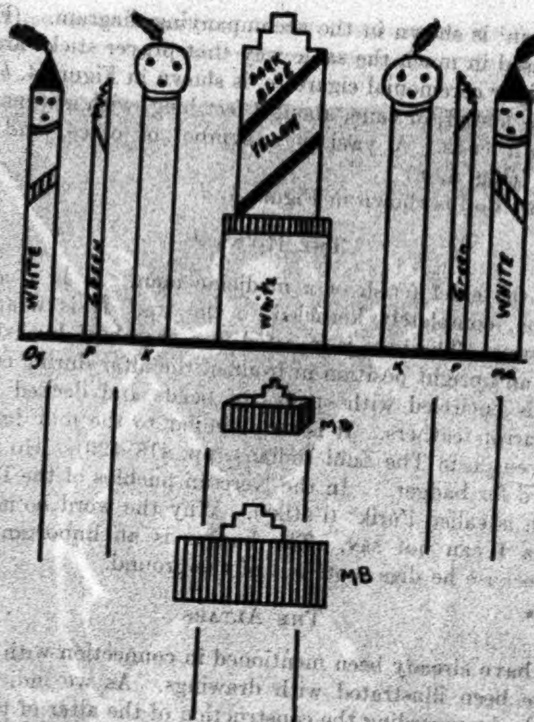

FIGURE 4.—Altar of a curing society. The figure on the right (Ma) is Masewi; his face is red. Figure on left (Oy) is Oyoyewi; his face is canary yellow. The two round faced figures (K) are K'o'tcininako; their bodies are mahogany in color, their faces whitish. The two notched uprights (P) are prayersticks; above the diagonal line near the top, the sticks are painted yellow. The large terraced upright in the center is called "Prayerstick Chief." In the foreground are two medicine bowls (MB). The parallel lines on either side of the terraced bowls are lines of meal.

MASKS

All masks were made of buffalo hide, except those of the gomaiowic, which were made of deerskin.[33] Cowhide now replaces buffalo hide in the making of new masks. Feathers, and sometimes flowers, are worn on the tops of the masks. The collar is usually of spruce twigs, although a fox skin is freely employed, and feathers rather rarely. In some cases designs or symbols on masks are explained, such as, for example, the face markings of Paiyatyamo; the diagonal path across the face of the k'ooictaiya is said to be the road that they took when they went from Shipap (the place of emergence) to h‘ak’oaik’utc^{n} (the sunrise).

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[33] "Are masks ever made of cloth?" I asked. "No; they used to do that at Laguna," was the contemptuous reply.

Before a dance the masks are taken from their storeroom and refurbished for the ceremony. Feathers and flowers are put on, and they are freshly painted. The paints used are prepared as follows:

Blue green.—Made from a rock secured in the mountains west of Acoma. It is called mo·ock’ (I presume it is a copper ore). First, the rock is ground into a fine dust; then it is boiled in pitch. When it gets thick it is allowed to cool. It is then made into balls. In this condition it is put away for use. When painting a mask one puts some of this substance into his mouth with eagle feathers. He chews it for some time and then blows it onto the mask (the breath is expelled with it, giving the effect of a spray). Cow's milk is then blown from the mouth onto the mask to make the paint bright and shiny.

Black.—Chimney soot is mixed with the white of an egg and applied with a stick, such as is used to paint pottery. For the eyes, the soot is mixed with the yolk of the egg.

Yellow.—A yellowish rock is ground fine, and the dust mixed with water. The sediment is thrown away after being allowed to settle twice. The third accumulation of sediment is kept. It is mixed with the yolk of an egg and is applied with a pottery paint brush.

Red.—A red clay (i’pc’ k’uk’anic) is used. It is applied with the pottery paint brush.

Blue.—This is purchased at the trader's store.

A coating of white paint is put on the mask, covering it completely, before the designs are painted on.

KACHINA DOLLS (K’ATSINA O’AK)

These are made of wood, painted, and decorated with feathers and flowers. They are given to children by masked dancers during ceremonies. The children treat them with great care and respect. (Fig. 4, *d*.)

ROCK CARVINGS

Southeast of Acoma there are some cliffs whose faces contain many carvings. (Fig. 6.) There are pictures or representations of the sun, of k’atsina, lightning, geometric designs (significance unknown), of female genitalia (see account of the k’atsina naiyu), a few deer, a human hand, etc. South of Acoma there is a great rock with a slender pinnacle rising to a height of almost 300 feet (estimated). On the side of this column there is a great picture of the sun, carved in the rock and painted. There are also some carved paintings of k’onictaiya.

Ritual Patterns

It might be well to summarize at this point some of the ritual patterns which we have met during our accounts of ceremonies:

Fasting and continence; salt and meat and sexual intercourse are taboo during sacred ceremonies.

Vomiting before breakfast, using an herb brew as an emetic, is considered salutary and purifying.

The counterclockwise circuit of the four directions (each with its color): North, yellow; west, blue; south, red; east, white.

The number four is the conventional ceremonial number.

Whipping is appropriate at the initiation of children and war chiefs; the o·pi (warriors) are subjected to some physical pain.

Smoking is done ceremonially. Corn-husk cigarettes are used. At official calls, during curing ceremonies, etc., cigarettes are used. Medicine men trap persons with them. The masks are offered cigarettes during their stay in the kivas. Cigarettes are placed in wanani for the spirits.

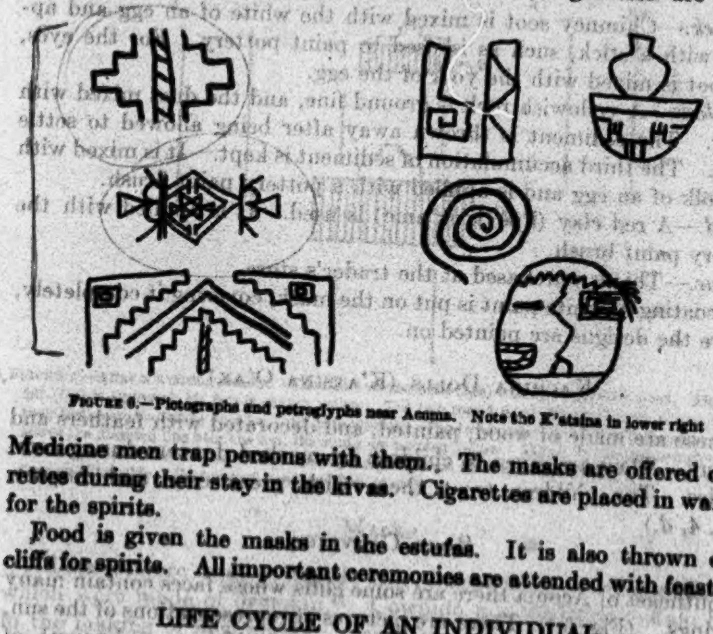

Figure 6.—Pictographs and petroglyphs near Acoma. Note the K'atsina in lower right

Food is given the masks in the estufas. It is also thrown over cliffs for spirits. All important ceremonies are attended with feasting.

LIFE CYCLE OF AN INDIVIDUAL

Birth

During pregnancy a woman modifies her ordinary conduct somewhat. She should not stand in a doorway; this would retard delivery. She should not go out walking very much. She is not supposed to eat fruit. She must not work too much. One should never show her thorns (reason not given). One should never "talk bad" in her presence.[34]

A midwife assists at childbirth.

When the child is born the father makes a waʙani, which he takes to a medicine man with a long prayer; he asks him to come to his house to take the baby out to see the sun and to give him a name.

Early in the morning (about 2 a. m.) of the fourth day after the birth of the child the medicine man solicited by the father comes with his wife to the house of the child.[35] The parents have cleared a space in one of their rooms for him. He begins to make his sand painting and to lay out his paraphernalia. The design of the sand painting is illustrated in Plate 16. A horned toad might be used instead of a turtle. Two or three ho'nan^1 are placed on the turtle. A medicine bowl is placed on the turtle's head. Some flints, miscellaneous fetishes (depending somewhat upon the medicine man's supply), and perhaps a bear paw are placed on the sand painting on either side of the turtle's head. A basket of prayer sticks is placed near the turtle's head.

While the medicine man is making his sand mosaic and arranging his paraphernalia his wife is bathing the mother and baby. When the medicine man has finished with his altar he sits near the turtle's head and begins to sing, keeping time with a gourd rattle. He sings for some time. When his wife has finished bathing mother and child she sits on the floor near the head of the turtle, with the baby in her lap. The mother sits near by. As the medicine man sings he dips his eagle plumes into the medicine bowl from time to time and sprinkles the baby.

Shortly before sunrise the medicine man asks the parents if they have prepared waʙani for prayers. The mother and father fetch the waʙani. They bring them back and, standing on either side of the turtle's head, they pray. When they have finished they lay their waʙani in the basket of prayer sticks. Then the medicine man asks the parents if they have selected a name for their child. If they have not done so, the medicine man selects one himself.

Just before sunrise they all rise and go outdoors. The wife of the medicine man carries the baby, following her husband to the east edge of the mesa. The parents stop a few paces outside their door. The medicine man carries with him the basket of prayer sticks, a ho'nan^1, a flint, his eagle feathers, and a bear's paw (if he has one). The medicine man sits on the edge of the cliff, praying to the sun. When the sun appears over the great mesa in the east the wife of the medicine man holds the baby out toward him.[36] The medicine man prays. When he finishes he throws the basket of prayer sticks over the edge. Then he rises and approaches the baby. He gathers in his arms all the air he can hold and blows it toward the baby; he gathers air from the four directions, north, west, south, and east. As he blows the air toward him, he speaks the child's name. He is giving the child breath of life.

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[34] For further notions regarding pregnancy see Parsons's Notes on Acoma and Laguna, American Anthropologist, vol. 20, pp. 162-186.

[35] This ceremony seems to be lacking among the eastern Keres.

The medicine man and his wife return to the house with the baby. As they approach the door the medicine man calls out "K'aiya!" (hello!). The father answers "Hai yeh!" the mother "Heh O!" Then the medicine man says, "Baby (mentioning the child's name), this is his home; here he comes; he is going to live here. May he have long life and all kinds of crops, fruits, game, beads, with him. He is coming in." The parents reply, "Let him come in!" Then the medicine man steps aside and allows his wife, carrying the child, to enter first. The mother stands just inside the door to receive the baby in her arms. The family gathers around. The medicine man takes up the bowl of medicine and pours a little bit into the baby's mouth. Then he gives some to the mother and father and to the relatives. Finally he gives some to his wife to drink and takes some himself. Food is now brought in for the medicine man and his wife and put down in front of the turtle's head. The doctor wafts steam from the food over the altar four times with his eagle plumes. He may take a morsel of food and deposit it near the bowl of medicine. Then they all sit down, a short distance from the sand painting, and eat. After breakfast, the medicine man sweeps up his painting, gathers up his paraphernalia, and goes home with his wife.

Before taking his departure, however, the medicine man prays over the baby's cradle and sprinkles it with medicine. The mother has selected an ear of corn which she will tie on the cradle board (at the left side of the baby). This corn is also prayed over and sprinkled. When the doctor has gone the father or mother will shell some of this corn and put it in a little buckskin bag and tie it on the left of the baby board. The remainder of the ear will be kept until planting time, when it will be planted. A small flint is tied to the cradle board, near the bag of corn. When the child leaves the cradle this flint is often hung from a string around his neck. In former times a father often took a young son to one of the o'pi who would make a small leather wristlet for the left wrist. This was to protect the wrist from the recoil of the bowstring and also to give the child "power." If the child is slow in learning to talk, his parents will put some shelled corn in a mocking bird's nest and leave it there for a few days. Then they take it out, grind it, and put it into the child's mouth, slightly moistened.

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[36] In the origin myth, Iatiku, the mother of the Indians, placed all her children in a row, facing east. Their eyes had not yet opened. The sun had not yet made its appearance. While they were facing east she caused the sun to rise. The eyes of the first children opened. That is why the children of Acoma are presented to the sun to-day at birth.

The baby boards are made of wood taken, preferably, from trees that have been struck by lightning. During the winter solstices these cradle boards are frequently taken to the medicine men (who are curing in their chambers) to have them "cured" (i. e., exorcised) and charged with "power."

CHILDHOOD[37]

Children are well-behaved and respectful; they are much more reserved and subdued than American children of to-day. At a fairly early age they assist their elders in their occupations. Nowadays they begin school at an early age—about 6 or 8. They attend either the Acomita or McCartys day school, or the Indian school at Albuquerque or the Catholic school at Santa Fe.

A few generations ago the children were initiated into the kachina organization at about 8 years of age. Nowadays children are not usually initiated until after their return from school; it is felt that the children should not possess these secrets while away from the pueblo—they might tell some one.

After school days are over the children are quite well grown and are ready to take their places as full-fledged members of the community.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

Monogamy is the rule at Acoma. The Catholic faith being professed, divorce is, theoretically, impossible. Many couples are married in the old mission church at old Acoma by the priest (Franciscan). These marriages usually take place on September 2, at the feast of St. Stephen, Acoma's patron saint. But frequently a man and woman live together as man and wife without any formal ceremony. Although divorce is not recognized, there are several cases of "separation," after which one or both parties may live with some one else. Very few adults sleep alone. I have heard rumors of a certain man who is said to have murdered one or two wives to get rid of them, but these stories are not well founded and are certainly very rare. Domestic violence is extremely rare.

There are many illegitimate children. Many girls become mothers before they marry (or live with a man); sometimes they have two children before marriage. Sometimes, indeed, they never marry but rear large families. I know of one family of several children whose mother never married. It is said that all of the mother's children are by the same man, however. He has a wife, though, with whom he lives, and children by her, too. Quite often, after a girl becomes a mother she marries, very frequently the father of the child (if known). Among the unmarried, both boys and girls, there is a great deal of sexual intercourse. But, it is said, a woman usually remains faithful to her husband after marriage.

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[37] Additional data on birth and child rearing are to be found in Parsons's Notes on Acoma and Laguna, American Anthropologist, vol. 20, pp. 162-186.

Neither illegitimacy nor extraconjugal sexual relationships are considered sins or even immoral. That boys and girls will exercise sexual functions before marriage is taken for granted. The "unmarried mother" is not looked upon with pity or with condemnation. Her status is practically equivalent to that of a widow with a child. Marrying a girl with an illegitimate child involves an economic consideration sometimes, but not a moral one; some men entertain a disinclination to support the child of another man. But this does not figure strongly in the pueblos, where the husbands very frequently go to live with their wives in their houses, and where the women contribute so much to the support of the families. In case a woman with children never marries, she does not become destitute by any means. She continues to live with her mother (or perhaps sister) and contributes much to the support of her children through her labors in the garden and in pottery making.

Men and women select their own mates, as a rule. Of course parents sometimes voice their wishes, but the children are free to disregard them if they choose. As is the case with matches among whites, it is very difficult sometimes to determine which party makes the first advances, the boy or the girl. But at Acoma, after the couple have become quite friendly (or sexually intimate) the girl is as likely to urge marriage as the boy.[28]

Regarding marriage with non-Acoma persons, I received the impression quite decidedly that marriage outside the pueblo is not to be encouraged, even with other pueblos, and marriage with whites or Mexicans is disapproved of.

There is no fixed custom (nowadays, at least) regulating the residence of wife and husband after marriage. The husband may go to live at the house of his wife, or vice versa. Or a new house may be built.

Nearly every family has at least one child. Practically all adults seem to be very fond of children, especially very small children. Very often men, especially old men, take care of children when they are about the house or village.

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[28] I knew one young man who used to have sexual intercourse with a girl. She wanted him to marry her, and asked him to do so. He did not wish to marry her. One night the girl's father caught them in bed together. He agreed to cause no trouble when the young man consented to marry the daughter. But before morning, the young man slipped out of the house, packed his grip and left the village. The girl's father went to the governor and wanted to collect $200 damages from the boy. But this could not be pressed in his absence. Within six months the girl married someone else, the boy returned, and no trouble followed.

SICKNESS AND ELECTION TO OFFICE

Adult life for the men and women is filled with their domestic and field activities. As ceremonies come and go they take their part, or perhaps only attend as spectators. A severe sickness, however, might well mark an event in the life of anyone. A medicine society might be called in, and the patient might join it upon recovery. This would be a very important event.

Any adult man is eligible to hold office (unless barred because of his liberal tendencies). A minor office, of course, does not materially change the course of one's life. A major office, such as the war captaincy or the governorship, however, marks an epoch in one's life, as will be realized from our discussion of these offices.

The values which the average person cherishes as he passes middle age seem to be a long life, many children, a clear conscience—a feeling of having done his duty toward men and gods. Wealth, beyond a comfortable living, seems to be little sought after. It is true that some feeling of contempt is attached to poverty; it means that the people are lazy or "bad." But in the scale of virtues wealth certainly does not head the list.[39]

DEATH [40]

The face of the deceased is painted with ya·katca (reddish brown) by some medicine men. The father makes four prayer sticks, painted black, which he puts in the right hand of the deceased. Then he makes four more which he puts in a pottery bowl, together with four made by the mother. Shortly after death the body is interred in the yard in front of the old Spanish church at old Acoma; this is consecrated ground. The body is buried dressed in the best clothes owned by the deceased. No tools or weapons are buried with the body. After the grave has been filled a pottery bowl of water is broken over it by a relative to give the deceased "his last drink." Sometimes a few flowers are planted on the grave, but they soon die.[41]

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[39] I heard that some of the people at Acoma (mostly men, of course, but one or two women) have two or three thousand dollars in the bank at Albuquerque. This is, of course, very rare; very few, indeed, have bank accounts. Wealth exists largely in sheep, cattle, horses, corn, houses, etc. The average family handles little cash during a year. Supplies are bought at the trading post at Cubero (where the Indians are very often cheated or imposed upon) and are charged. Accounts are balanced with sales of wool and pottery.

[40] Additional data on death and burial are contained in Parsons's Notes on Acoma and Laguna, American Anthropologist, vol. 20, pp. 162-186.

[41] All of the Acomas who have died for many generations have been buried in this churchyard. It is quite small. Whenever a new grave is dug now at least one or two old ones are disturbed, and many bones are exhumed; these are thrown back into the new grave. A few bones and many fragments of pottery lie about on the surface of the graveyard. The relation to the Catholic Church is interesting in connection with burials. All of the burials are in the churchyard, but the medicine men function rather than the priest. In one instance that I know of the Catholic priest performed the burial ceremony (the father of the deceased was a "progressive"). The girl was not buried in the churchyard for this reason. Persons who have been witches are not buried here either.

The heart (soul) of the deceased goes back to Shipap. (It will be remembered that there is a little hole in the floor of Mauharots, where, it is said, the soul goes after death.) Nothing specific is known of the existence of an individual after death; he simply goes back to the place of emergence, to Iatikᵘ, the mother of them all.[43]

Four days after the death a medicine man, solicited with corn meal by the father of the deceased, takes the burnt stick which has been placed where the deceased lay, the prayer sticks made by the father and the mother, and a "lunch," and goes to the grave, where he prays. Then he goes down the sand trail to the foot of the mesa, and then to the north. He goes out to some mesa or canyon, where he deposits his burden. The sticks are for Iatikᵘ.

MISCELLANY

Hidden Ball (Aioakutyey)

There were four hollow tubes. They were about 8 inches long and 2 inches in diameter. One was painted black in the middle; this was called tsoyo. Another was painted black on one end; this was called teli. A third was painted black on both ends; it was called k'aci. The third had two black marks in the middle (name not learned). A pebble ball is hidden in one of these tubes.

The game may be played by a great number of people, who are divided into two groups opposing each other. Each group is represented by one man. They decide who shall play first by letting a corn husk that has been blackened on one side flutter to the ground. While it is falling one man guesses which side will fall uppermost. If he wins he will be the first to hide the pebble. The object of the game is, of course, to hide the ball in one of the tubes so that the opponents can not locate it. If the person who is guessing touches the tube containing the pebble on the first guess he must pay his opponent ten straws (each of the two men has 100 straw tallies). If he touches the tube containing the pebble on the second guess he must pay six straws. If he guesses it on the third guess he takes the tubes and hides the pebble himself; but he wins no straws. If he guesses wrong the first three guesses he must forfeit five straws. The one who loses all of his straws first loses the game.

While these two men are playing the others stand by and sing and dance "like k'a'tsina." Men from each group make bets with men from the opposing group. Considerable property changes hands sometimes at this game.[44]

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[43] It is interesting to note that neither Iatikᵘ nor any other native spirit punishes anyone after death. Those who recognize the Catholic God as a spirit, however, say that he is quite likely to punish people after death.

[44] Culin in his Games of the North American Indians, Twenty-fourth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 351, speaks of hidden ball at Acoma. He calls it aiyawakotai.

Other games.—There were kick-stick races between groups of boys or men.[44]

Culin also mentions a game played with cane dice.[45]

A game called nishi is cited by Culin from Acoma. It is said that it was invented by Kaubat, who played against the sun and lost his eyes.[46]

SALT GATHERING

When they were living at Kacikatcut' (White House) in the north there was a woman named Mina Koya. She was the Salt Woman. She quarreled with the people. They quarreled with her because she was so dirty. So she left and went to the south. She stopped at various places on the way, but kept on going southwest. Finally she stopped where the Zuñi salt lake is now. She stopped there to rest and turned into the salt lake.[47]

The people at Acoma used to send out expeditions to the Zuñi salt lake to get salt. Only men from the Pumpkin and Parrot clans went. One or more of the war chiefs went with them, however. When they got to the salt lake they bathed. They made prayer sticks and prayed. The headmen of the clans had a ho'nani. Wearing only a breechcloth, the men went into the lake to gather the salt. No one laughed during the time they were at work, it was a very solemn occasion. When they came back to Acoma with the salt every house had the sign of its clan painted on the wall by the door. The Parrot and Pumpkin men distributed salt to each house.[48]

A LOVE CHARM

If a young man wants to make a girl who has remained indifferent to his demonstrations of affection fall in love with him, he executes the following formula:

The young man finds a spider web which has been spun over the mouth of a hole in the ground. This he removes carefully and preserves. In payment for the web he gives the spider a ball of cotton which contains in its center some ya·katca (a reddish-brown rock), some pollen (the beings that creep on the earth, such as ants, are supposed to feed on pollen), some rabbit meat, or deer meat if it can be secured, and perhaps some beads. This is deposited with a prayer to the spider.

Then the young man proceeds to the house of the girl whom he wishes to win. Without being seen by anyone, he places the web in some place where the girl is sure to touch it. Then he goes home. That night he sings the songs that Diakatcoa sang when, in the form of a butterfly, he lured the kotcininakoe from their home. These songs are esoteric and must be secured from some one who knows them. All of these songs he sings on this night.

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[44] See Culin, p. 698.

[45] Ibid., pp. 119-121.

[46] Ibid., p. 121.

[47] See other accounts of the Salt Woman; this is very fragmentary and incomplete. See Boas's Myths and Tales from Laguna.

[48] Compare account of salt gathering described by Doctor Parsons in Laguna Genealogies, p. 226.

The next day (or very soon thereafter) the girl will readily yield to his wooing.

SUMMARY COMMENT

In a piecemeal description of Acoma culture it would be easy to lose sight of a very fundamental feature, namely, integration. Notwithstanding the many and diverse elements to be found in the cultural totality, there is a great degree of interpenetration of function and coincidence of form; pueblo culture is close-knit. It might be well, then, briefly to envisage Acoma culture as a whole as an organic unity.

I like to view Acoma social organization as consisting of two strata, or as existing upon two levels. These are the kinship (and clan) level and the socio-ceremonial level. And I usually think of the former as a substratum upon which the elaborate ceremonial structure is reared. Of course, these two strata are not sharply divided by any means; they cofunction at many points and there is a constant flow of influence (of a personal or kinship nature) between them.

First, then, we have the kinship level, on which the clan constitutes a very definite form of organization. Its chief function is the regulation of marriage. But, as we have seen, many ceremonial elements are conditioned or determined by clan consideration. It is on this level, too, that a great current of forces flows which influence pueblo affairs to a very great extent. These are the attractions and repulsions between person and person; the loves, hates, fears, jealousies, suspicions of the people. The alignment of individuals within the two parties, the progressives and the conservatives, is determined largely by kin and clan ties.[illegible] One might take all this for granted, of course. But too often, I believe, in a study of the anatomy of a culture one fails to take due account of these subinstitutional forces which vitalize it to such a great degree.

On the second level we have ceremonies which are, for the most part, of a supernatural nature. Most of the ceremonies seek to derive favor or to avert evil from supernatural beings; they are magical attempts to gratify wishes. But in addition to this purpose, ceremonial life is fed and nourished by purely esthetic and social motives; many ceremonies are beautiful, impressive, and pleasant social occasions.

[illegible] I knew of an instance in which a young man married the daughter of a very conservative family. He had been a liberal before his marriage but became an "old-time" conservative afterwards.

On this ceremonial level we can distinguish several organizations of interest, although each one is connected with another at some point. These organizations center around rain and fertility, medicine and disease, war, and hunting. But the organs for serving one purpose frequently assist another; medicine men assist in the kachina dances (and initiate new members); they also initiate the war chiefs, and the war chiefs guard the medicine men at their cures; the Hunters' Society officiated at ceremonial hunts; the k'ozictaiya treated weak and sick persons at the winter solstice, etc. There is a quality of sphericity about the organization; any point is connected or concerned (more or less directly) with all others.

The position of Acoma in the southwest.[30]—Although differing at many points from the Keresan pueblos of the Rio Grande, Acoma resembles them very much more than she does the Hopi or the Zuñi of the west, or the Tewa villages of the east; Acoma is definitely Keresan in culture. Geographically, Acoma is almost midway between the eastern and the western pueblos and is decidedly peripheral to the Keresan area. One might expect to find this position reflected in Acoma culture, and one does, indeed, find a mingling of the east and the west at Acoma.

The six-kiva system at Acoma (only five now) is like Zuñi. The moiety feature which is prominent in the ceremonial organization of the eastern pueblos is absent at Acoma, as at Zuñi. The kachina cult shows more affinities to Zuñi than to the eastern pueblos. In addition to the presence of certain individual kachinas, the masked ceremonies of the k'atsina fight, and of Cura·tca, suggest the Zuñi kyanakwe ceremony and shulawitsi ritual, respectively.

Differences in political organization between Acoma and the eastern Keres are: In the east there are two war chiefs; at Acoma there is one and two lieutenants. The cacique at Acoma is always a member of the Antelope clan and is not a medicine man (although this is not prohibited). In the east the cacique is not chosen with reference to clan, but he is usually (and in one or two instances must be) a medicine man. The 10 "little chiefs" and the three cooks at Acoma are unique.

Acoma medicine societies closely resemble the eastern Keresan ones. It is characteristic in the east, however, for the Flint Society to be closely associated with the koshare (sometimes amounting to compulsory coincidences in membership), and a similar bond between the Ci·k'ame Society and the Quirena. At Acoma the koshare are extinct and so is the Ci·k'ame Society. And the Quirena Society is identical with the kachina organization. These are striking differences.

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[30] White, Leslie A., Summary Report on Field Work at Acoma, American Anthropologist, vol. 30, pp. 559–568.

Another item of interest here concerns paraphernalia. At Acoma a wooden slat altar is used at cures. It is called yaŋaicini. Among the eastern Keres the slat altar is used at the solstice ceremonies (and presumably at retreats), but not at cures. Moreover, it is called ai'tcin; in the east yaŋaicini refers to the meal painting and layout of fetishes used at cures. Possible explanations of these (and other) differences must be reserved for other studies.

Acoma culture, then, in a word, is marginal Keresan, with evidences of strong western influence.

MYTHS AND TALES

Emergence and Migration

They came out of the earth, from Iatik'ᵘ, the mother. They came out through a hole in the north called Shipap. They crawled out like grasshoppers; their bodies were naked and soft. It was all dark; the sun had not yet risen. All of the little people had their eyes closed; they hadn't opened them yet. Iatikᵘ lined them all up in a row, facing east. Then she had the sun come up. When it came up and shone on the babies' eyes they opened. They crawled around. In eight days they were bigger and stronger. They walk around now. There was a lake at Shipap. There was an island in the center of the lake, and there was a building on the island. Iatikᵘ left her people when they got big enough to take care of themselves and went to live in this building. Before she went she told the people how to get food to eat. She also told them about the k'a·'tsina who lived out west at Wenimatsⁱ. She told them that the k'a·'tsina would come to dance for them. She told the people that they must respect these spirits, for they were very powerful. Iatikᵘ told her children to multiply and to teach their children to live as Iatikᵘ wished. She said that she would always be near them to help them and to take care of them.

Among the children of Iatikᵘ were two brothers, Masewi and Oyoyewi. They were very powerful and very wise. They became the leaders of the people.

One day two G'o'maiowic (scouts) came to announce the coming of the k'a·'tsina in four days. Everyone busied himself in preparations for the reception of the k'a·'tsina. The women ground corn and made bread; the men hunted rabbits and deer. Masewi and his brother showed the people how to make prayer sticks (hatcamoni) and how to worship the k'a·'tsina. On the evening of the third day everyone prayed to the k'a·'tsina with their prayer sticks and corn meal (ckati·na) and made offerings of bread and game. The next morning the k'a·'tsina arrived, preceded by two go·'maiowic. The k'a·'tsina were dressed the way the masked dancers are to-day (but of course they did not wear masks; their faces looked the way the masks do to-day). They came into the plaza. Masewi and his brother went forward to meet them, handing them bunches of prayer sticks. The other people were close behind and they, too, met the k'a·'tsina. Then the k'a·'tsina distributed presents. They carried small buckskin bags with them. When they were opened and their contents discharged they became magnified and multiplied manifold. They had bows and arrows, clothing (for the people were still naked), pottery, flints, buckskins, tools, etc., which they distributed to the people. The k'a·'tsina then instructed the people in the uses of all the gifts, and they made inquiries regarding the clans. (Just what inquiries and why I do not know. It seems they merely asked each person what clan he belonged to.) Then Masewi and Oyoyewi told the people that they must "believe in the k'a·'tsina," that they were powerful, that they were rain makers. Then the k'a·'tsina began to dance in the plaza. They danced all day. In the evening they left, returning to We'nimats', their home in the west. The scouts told the people, before leaving, that if they wanted the k'a·'tsina to come they should make prayer sticks and worship to them. In each case the scouts would come to announce the k'a·'tsina four days before their arrival.

Then the people were happy. They had food, tools, clothing, and weapons. When they became bored or lonesome they had the k'a·'tsina come to dance for them. They had learned many things, hunting, a few games, etc. They made herb brew which they used as an emetic. (This is said to be very healthful. If one drinks brew and vomits upon arising in the morning he "will feel good all day.")

After a time the people decided to move from Shipap', for it was a very sacred place and they feared they might defile it. So Masewi decided to move to Kacikatcutia (White House) which lay to the south. Leaving Shipap', they migrated to Kacikatcutia, where stood the White House. They settled there.

When they had become established in their new home they decided to try to call the k'a·'tsina; they were not sure that they would come to their new home. So they made prayer sticks and worshipped as they had been taught. The scouts came, followed after four days by the k'a·'tsina. In the evening, following one of these dances, the people were gathered in a large room to play at aioak'ütyeyi (hidden ball). They were in high spirits; everyone was happy. It occurred to one man to show the others how one of the k'a·'tsina had danced. He danced, exaggerating the peculiarities of the k'a·'tsina. Everyone laughed. Then others gave comic imitations of various k'a·'tsina. This caused great merriment among the spectators. Suddenly some one left the room. It was Mac'tsiktsatca'tᵊ, a k'a·'tsina who had been sitting in the room all the time. They tried to catch him, but he had disappeared when they reached the door. He returned to Wenimats^{i} and told his fellows. They were very angry and decided to return to Kacikatcutia and destroy the village. That night the war cry "Ah-a-a-a-a-a Ai!" alarmed the whole village. Masewi and his brother went out, meeting four scouts from Wenimats^{i}. The scouts told the brothers that the k'a·'tsina were going to come and kill everyone. Masewi and Oyoyewi returned and began preparing for defense. They got poles and skins and made a barricade (ai'tcini). (See the account of the "fight" ceremony, also the other myth describing this episode.)

The morning following thousands of k'a·'tsina were seen running toward Kacikatcutia from the west, raising a big cloud of dust. They were met by the people of the village, the women behind, the men in front. They fought all day. Many people were killed. If a k'a·'tsina was killed he immediately came to life again and resumed fighting. At nightfall the fighting ceased and the k'a·'tsina returned to Wenimats^{i}. Most of the people had been killed. The rest were very sad. And they quarreled among themselves, blaming each other for their misfortune.

The next day the scouts returned from Wenimats^{i}. They told the people that they would never see the k'a·'tsina again. If, however, they wished them to come in spirit they should dress just like the k'a·'tsina, pray in the usual way, and then impersonate the k'a·'tsina in their dances.

The following days were spent burying the dead and in mourning.

A month or two passed, when Masewi summoned the people together to talk again about the k'a·'tsina. They finally decided to impersonate the k'a·'tsina as they had been directed by the go'maiowic. So Masewi and his brother began to make masks. But they did not take all of the people into their confidence, because many were skeptical; they did not think that such a substitute would be effective. With six or eight men the two brothers prepared as many masks to represent k'a·'tsina. Then they built a house in which to practice songs and dances.

Early one morning two men, dressed as go'maiowic, left the village and went out west. At daybreak they returned to the village. The people who were ignorant of the scheme were very frightened; they feared another attack. Masewi and his brother met the scouts in the plaza. The scouts said that the k'a·'tsina would come to visit them in four days. Everyone was glad, and set about making preparations for their reception. Peace was to be made. On the third day Masewi appointed three war chiefs—a head chief and two lieutenants—and told them how to receive the k'a·'tsina.

In the morning of the fourth day two scouts arrived in the village, followed by six or eight k'a·'tsina, Masewi and his brother taking the part of k'a·'tsina. The war chiefs met them and made them welcome. They told the people about the wrong done the k'a·'tsina, and how they must be respected now. The k'a·'tsina danced all day and at sunset returned to Wenimats^{i}.

But the people could not agree among themselves; some thought it unwise to impersonate these spirit beings, others thought it necessary. Dissension spread in the village. Little bands detached themselves from the main body and migrated in various directions. (This implicitly accounts for the northern pueblos.) Many, however, stayed behind and followed the advice of Masewi. It was during these days of discord, too, that Iatik^{u} caused the people to speak different languages so that they could not quarrel with each other.

After a time Masewi and his followers migrated to Wacpaceka, where they lived a long time. There was still discord among them concerning the k'a·'tsina.

Now Masewi had two eggs, one a parrot egg, the other a crow egg. One was blue and the other was white, but no one knew which was the parrot's egg. They decided to go to the south, where lay a place called A·ko. They wished to go there and raise parrots. So they set out. In their wanderings they would pause at various mesas, thinking perhaps that they had found A·ko. Masewi would call out in a loud voice "Aaaakoooo-o-o!" If the echo sounded favorable they would settle there for a time to make sure. But if the echo was not "good" they would pass on.

On their wanderings they stopped for a time at Dyüp'tsiyam, but it was too small to raise parrots, so they moved on. They also stopped at Guicti and at Tsiama. But always, when they moved, they traveled toward the south. As they passed K'atsi·'m^{o} (Mesa Encantada) some of them paused and made their homes there; the others followed Masewi southward. When they came to the east point of Acoma, Masewi called out "A-a-a-ko-o-o-o!" and received a perfect echo. "This is Ako," he announced. Then he held up the two eggs, the blue and the white egg. The people divided themselves, some preferring the blue egg, others the white one, but both parties were, of course, trying to select the parrot egg. Most of the people chose the blue egg, so Masewi threw it against the cliff. Swarms of crows flew out. Those who had chosen this egg were sadly disappointed, but they had agreed to remain at Ako. Those who had chosen the white egg went on farther south, carrying the egg with them. (And my informant said that he had been told by some of the old men that far to the south were a people that spoke a language almost like that of the Acomas. He thought those must have been the people who went south with the white egg.)

Now there were many snakes and ants on top of the mesa at A·ko, so the people settled at the foot at the east point, which was called

Akohai'titu (east point of Ako). There were also rabbits, squirrels, birds, and trees on top of the mesa. Masewi told his people that he was going to live on top of the rock. So he and his brother ascended the mesa. After a few days they returned and told the people that some day they would all live up there; that the village at the foot would be destroyed. They also said that they were going to disappear, but that they would be living beneath a rock on the east end of the cliff. (On the cliff to-day stand two rock pillars under which the spirits of Masewi and Oyoyewi live.) But some day, Masewi told them, he and his brother would return as great warriors, riding on taityaiowic (?). Then the world would come to an end. Everyone would be killed. After that some people (presumably the faithful) would live forever.

The settlers at the foot of the mesa began to build a village. First they built the war chief's house, then those for the medicine men, then the houses for the others. Each was to help the other in this work. They had some altars and masks that they had made at Kacikatcutia. They planted corn, beans, squash, and melons. They did not irrigate at that time.

When they had become settled in their new home they decided to try to bring the k'a·'tsina back. They made more masks. The war chief (at that time the war chief served for life and was succeeded at death by his son) appointed two men to serve as go'maiowic. They were to hold this position permanently and at death to be succeeded by their sons.

When all preparations had been made and the prayers offered to Wenimats' the two scouts appeared in the village the morning following and told them that the k'a·'tsina would come in four days. They told the people to make every preparation for their arrival, to clean up the whole village, grind corn, bake bread, hunt game, etc. They were to make a food sacrifice to the k'a·'tsina. The older people knew that the k'a·'tsina were merely impersonated by their own people, but the younger folks thought that the real k'a·'tsina were to come.

On the morning of the fourth day the k'a·'tsina, preceded by the go'maiowic, came. They came around the south side of the mesa to the east point. The war chief met them in the plaza. The k'a·'tsina brought no presents, and they never spoke, as they had done before the fatal fight. The k'a·'tsina danced in the plaza and prayed for rain. (It was said that they prayed either to Iatik^{u} or to the Shiwanna.) Rain came. This ceremony became sacred and was repeated. The masks were preserved carefully.

Among the dangers and annoyances in the life at Akohai'titu were a Flint bird (Histiani Kossût, something with wings of flint) that used to steal away young girls and carry them off to his home above the sky, and some giants who roamed the country, carrying off stragglers to their mountain homes, where they were eaten. (See the stories of Kasewat, the great hero of this time, and his encounters with these monsters.)

At certain times the war chief would have the medicine men purge the village of sickness. And they would have rabbit hunts at various times, usually before some ceremony, to provide meat for the feasts.

For his heroic exploits Kasewat was made war chief. The old war chief, the father of his wife, died without leaving sons, so Kasewat was made chief. Shortly after assuming the office Kasewat caused the medicine men to ascend the mesa and remove all the snakes and ants. They were planning to move on top of the rock, as it had become dangerous to live at the foot. So the medicine men brought the snakes down and turned them loose.

After a council they moved up on top of the mesa. There were some, though, who did not wish to go, so they left and journeyed southward. Before making the ascent, however, they examined the rock carefully to ascertain the sources of water, trails, etc. When they had moved they built homes of stone and of adobe. Some were three stories high. At this time there were some old people left who had witnessed the fight with the k'a·'tsina at Kacikatcutia. They wished to reenact that episode, partly to teach the others what had happened and also to impress upon everyone the sacredness of all matters pertaining to k'a·'tsina. So after long deliberation they decided to reenact this fight. (See page 88 for accounts of this ceremony.)

ORIGIN AND EMERGENCE [61]

The first supernatural being was Utc'tsɪtɪ (male). Then there were two sisters, Nau'tsɪtɪ and Ia'tik^{u}. Utc'tsɪtɪ told them in a dream that the people were under the earth. The two sisters wanted to dig for them. They got the gopher to dig for them. The gopher dug down and reached the people, and the two sisters told them to come out. They crawled out. They were very small, like babies; their eyes were shut. The sun had not come up yet. The sisters made the people face the east. When the sun came up all their eyes opened. This was at Shipap'.

One night Utc'tsɪtɪ gave the two sisters all kinds of fruits, vegetables, game, sheep, etc.[62] It was all in a basket. There was a book in the basket. When the sisters woke up in the morning they found the basket. Nau'tsɪtɪ said, "Oh, look; this is our present from Utc'tsɪtɪ. We will divide all the things." Nau'tsɪtɪ told Ia'tik^u to pick out the things she wanted. So Ia'tik^u picked out the wild game and the wild plants, things that grew by themselves. The animals and plants that had to be planted and tended in order to grow she left to Nau'tsɪtɪ. Then Nau'tsɪtɪ offered the book to Ia'tik^u, but Ia'tik^u didn't want the book; she thought it would be too much trouble to read it. Then they called all the people together and told them to choose between the two sisters. Most of the people went with Ia'tik^u; only a few went with Nau'tsɪtɪ. But Nau'tsɪtɪ told Ia'tik^u that she was making a mistake. "You don't want to work," she told Ia'tik^u, "but some day you may want what I have. I will get the best of you yet," she said. Then Nau'tsɪtɪ went to the east. She became the mother of the white people (who later came back to the land of the Indians). Ia'tik^u was the mother of the Indians.[*]

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[61] This version, I suspect, is one that was told at Laguna, or Zia, perhaps. I do not believe it is common at Acoma, for other informants did not know about it. But Utctsiti and Nautsiti are mentioned in myths collected at Laguna by Professor Boas; Naotsete and Uretsete are mentioned by Dumarest (p. 212, Notes on Cochiti, N. Mex.). Mrs. Stevenson speaks of Utset at Zia. The reference to the book, of course, indicates that some recent myth maker has had his hand in it.

[62] This informant, and indeed others, believe that the Pueblo Indians have always had sheep.

'GuitiDa'nic (Performing Miracles), a Story of the Fight at Kacikatcutia

Mic^{u}nama, there was a dance going on at Kacikatcutia one day. Toward evening the k'a·'tsina that were dancing went back to Wenimats'^{i}. But there was one k'a·'tsina named Mactiktsatcati who remained in the estufa, sitting in a corner. That night some men gathered in the estufa and fell to discussing the dancers. Some of them began to ridicule the k'a·'tsina and to mimic their ways of dancing. "This one was bow-legged," "This one danced this way," etc. They did not notice the k'a·'tsina sitting quietly in the corner. After Mactiktsatcati had listened for some time he got up and went out of the estufa. Some men noticed him leave and recognized him to be a k'a·'tsina. They rushed after him to endeavor to detain him, but by the time they had reached the exit of the estufa Mactiktsatcati had disappeared.

When Mactiktsatcati arrived at Wenimats'^{i} he told the k'a·'tsina how the people had mocked them. The k'a·'tsina dancers became very angry. They determined to revenge themselves. The next morning two g'o'maiowic (scouts) were summoned. They were instructed to go to Kacikatcutia and tell the people that the k'a·'tsina would attack them in four days and punish them for their misdemeanor. So the scouts went to Kacikatcutia where they met the tsatyao ho·tcen^i (outside, or war chiefs) to whom they delivered their message. The chiefs summoned the people to one of the estufas and told them of the decision of the angry k'a·'tsina. After some discussion the chiefs decided that there was nothing to do but to prepare for defense. The head chief announced to all the people, "Prepare for the coming fight. Meanwhile I shall go to Wenimats^{I}." So he set out for Wenimats^{I}. There he sought out Asik'an^{I}, two Tsitsʌ̨nIts, two K'ak'ɑipe, Dyaits'ko·tume, Nye·nye·k'a, Na·'yu, G'otitcanicame, Masewi and Oyoyewi.

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[*] Although there is no doubt about the existence of an Utc'tsɪtɪ and a Nau'tsɪtɪ in Keresan tradition, I feel that this particular version is largely the product of some individual fancy, perhaps the informant's.

He asked these k'a·'tsina to help the people of Kacikatcutia. The k'a·'tsina agreed to do so. It was planned that when the k'a·'tsina dancers came to attack the pueblo these k'a·'tsina were not to join in the fight, but were to stand by until about half of the people had been killed, when they were to seize the dancers and bring them to Masewi and Oyoyewi, who were to kill them.

On the fourth day the k'a·'tsina left Wenimats^{I} and set out for Kacikatcutia. Some watchers in the pueblo saw them approaching and gave the warning signal. All the able-bodied people in the village came out to meet them. Then the fight began. They all mixed together. Some of the k'a·'tsina tore arms or legs off the torsos of young men and used them as clubs to beat others with. The war chief was watching, and when about half of his people had been killed he gave the signal to his friendly k'a·'tsina. They ran about seizing the other k'a·'tsina and knocking them down. Masewi and his brother ran up and cut their throats. This continued until all the hostile k'a·'tsina had been dispatched. After remaining inert for a while they would return to life and begin their retreat to Wenimats^{I}.

The war chief and his people returned to the village, bringing their k'a·'tsina friends with them. They took the k'a·'tsina to an estufa and fed them. Then the war chief told all the people to make prayer sticks and to bring them to the estufa where the k'a·'tsina were. This was done, the prayer sticks being placed in baskets. These the war chief gave to the two scouts and told them to take them back to Wenimats^{I}. He prayed and asked forgiveness of the k'a·'tsina, and asked for their help in the future.

The scouts returned to Wenimats^{I} with the prayer sticks which they gave to the hotceni (chief), Kimac^{e}. Kimac^{e} said that from that time the k'a·'tsina would never return to the pueblo. Then he directed the scouts to take some masks that had already been made to Kacikatcutia and to tell the people that the k'a·'tsina would never come again in person; instead, they were to wear those masks when they danced, and that rain would follow. The people were to pray to the k'a·'tsina, and even though they would not be present in person they would be there in spirit. But it would be necessary for the dancers to believe in the k'a·'tsina and to treat them with respect.

When the war chief received the masks he called the people together and told them never to ridicule or mock the k'a·'tsina again.

"We have made a terrible mistake," he said, "but from now on we must do the best we can." The friendly k'a·'tsina were present in the pueblo when the masks arrived. War chief told the people that they were to regard these k'a·'tsina as ho'tceni (chiefs) and that they must respect them. War chief proposed having Tsitsünits whip all the children four days from that time. (In summoning the people to the estufa he had admitted only adults.) In four days all the children were brought to the estufa, where they were whipped by Tsitsünits. Four days after the whipping the men put on their masks for the first time and danced in the plaza. When they had finished dancing they retired to the estufa. Here the war chief caused all the children over eight years of age to assemble. They were told the secret of the masks and the k'a·'tsina dancers. They were told to believe in the k'a·'tsina and to treat them with great respect. They were forbidden to tell the younger children.

In the evening the dancers pretended to return to Wenimats'. Then they went out west, waited until nightfall, when they removed their masks and returned to the village. This is the way they must do even to this day. Dahama tcaitc. (This is the way it happened.)

MASEWI ABANDONS IATIK

Mic^{a}hama (long ago), when the Acoma people were still living at Kacikatcutia (White House), Masewi and his brother Oyoyewi lived in the same house with Iatik. Iatik had an altar (yanaicini) in her room with a medicine bowl (waiïtitcani) sitting in front of it. Masewi and his brother used to go into Iatik's room every night and dance for her until morning. They would dance in front of the altar so that the water in the medicine bowl would not dry up. Clouds arose from the water in the medicine bowl and spread all over the world, thus insuring a sufficient supply of rain.

After a time, however, Iatik appeared to tire of the nightly visits of the two brothers. At last she showed it so plainly that they decided not to return, so one night they stayed away. Instead of dancing before the altar they went to each house in the village and got some corn; they collected corn of all kinds and colors. The next morning early they left the village, traveling toward the north. After journeying some distance they selected a spot and dug a hole in the ground, a deep hole, leading down into another world. Before descending into the lower world they found a horned toad (tasinock^{a}). They told him that Iatik had tired of them and their dancing and that they had decided to leave the village for 10 years; it was their way of making the people realize that it was they and not Iatik who brought the rain. The toad was to guard the hole during the absence of the two brothers; he was to sit on the entrance to the hole. Masewi caused some flowers to grow about the hole so that the toad would have food during his long watch. He also supplied the toad with water to drink. Before descending into the hole Masewi told the toad to sit on the entrance faithfully and not to move even though told to do so by some passer-by. But if someone should ask the toad to open his mouth he should obey.

So the brothers went down the hole, way down to a lower world. When they reached the bottom they went west to a place called Akūtcstcototsica (Flower Mound). They selected this place because they knew that there was a well there. At Kacikatcutia there lived a man named Waikuti-mīti, whom the people hated. (The meaning of his name and the reason he was disliked are not known.) This man Masewi and his brother brought with them to Akūtcstcototsica. The brothers started a farm with the seeds they had brought with them; Waikuti-mīti was to tend the fields. And so they lived in this way and were happy. They had plenty of everything. But they worked hard and stored up much food, for they knew that the people at Kacikatcutia would be starving at the end of the 10 years.

Four days after Masewi and Oyoyewi left Iatik was looking for them. She wanted them to dance for her because the water was going down in the medicine bowl. Not being able to find the brothers, Iatik decided to dance, but all her efforts failed to raise the water in the medicine bowl and to bring rain. Day by day the water went down. Becoming alarmed, Iatik asked the k'a'’tsina to come to her house to dance. The k'a'’tsina came to her house and danced for her, but no clouds arose from the bowl and no rain followed. The water continued to fall in the bowl. At the end of a year the bowl went dry. There was a spring near the village where the people got water to drink. But it never rained and there was no snow. Iatik appealed to the four rain makers of the four cardinal points (see p. 66), but they could do nothing.

Five years continued in this way. Iatik became desperate. Then she called a humming bird (miitc^{a}) and asked him to find Masewi and Oyoyewi. On the first day of his search the humming bird went to the north, but could find no trace of the two brothers. The next day he went to the west, but was again unsuccessful. On the third day he went to the south; no success. The fourth day took him to the east, but nothing could be learned of the brothers. Then the humming bird set out again, going to the north. Attracted by the flowers that Masewi had caused to grow to supply the horned toad with food, the humming bird came upon Tasinock, sitting on the hole. "Duictrsa" (Are you there?), humming bird greeted horned toad. "Yes," he replied. Humming bird asked the toad to move to the north, but he refused. Then he asked him to move to the west, but again he refused. Humming bird asked him to move to the south, but the toad would not move. Then he asked him to move to the east, but the toad sat motionless. Then humming bird asked the toad to stand up, but the toad would not stand up. Then humming bird asked the toad to open his mouth. The toad opened wide his mouth and the humming bird flew in and right on through him, down the hole. When he got to the bottom of the hole, he went to the west to Flower Mound, where he found Masewi and Oyoyewi.

"Guatzi, Masewi!" greeted the humming bird.

"Dawai, Miitc*," replied Masewi.

"I am looking for you," the bird said; "Iatik's medicine bowl has dried up."

"What's the matter?" asked Masewi. "Can't Iatik bring the water and make it rain?"

"No."

Then the humming bird asked Masewi when he and his brother were going to return. Now, the brothers, being great hotceni (chiefs), spoke a language that differed somewhat from the language of the common people at Kacikatcutia. So when Masewi told the humming bird that they would return in four years, the bird misunderstood him and thought he had said four days. Then they fed the humming bird, for they had plenty to eat.

The next day the humming bird set out for Kacikatcutia. When he got to the top of the hole he called out to the horned toad, "Open your mouth!" The toad did as he was told and the humming bird again flew through him and went back to Iatik's house.

"Did you find them?" Iatik asked.

"Yes."

"Where?"

"Down in the lower world."

"When are they coming back?"

"In four more days," the bird told her.

But Iatik knew that the brothers meant four years and she began to weep. She asked the humming bird why they were going to stay away so long, but the bird said that he had not learned anything else.

Then Iatik sent the humming bird to Wenimats' to get some k'a·'tsina to help her. Four k'a·'tsina—two Tsitsünits, Aaik'ünü and Dyaits'ko'tume—came to her house. It was Iatik's plan to have these k'a·'tsina remove the toad from the entrance to the hole. But all this time Masewi and his brother knew all about these plans. So when the four k'a·'tsina approached the hole they caused a great cloud to appear over them and it began to hail with great violence. The k'a·'tsina were compelled to return. Iatik wept when she saw them return baffled. The k'a·'tsina asked Iatik to go move the horned toad herself. But she would not go.

Just then a swallow (seseka) happened along. He volunteered to go down the hole and meet Masewi and his brother. Iatik told him to go. So the swallow, accompanied by the humming bird, set out. Before they reached the hole the humming bird told the swallow to ask the horned toad to open his mouth and then to fly through. "But be careful not to let the toad bite you," he warned.

When they reached the hole the swallow asked the toad to open his mouth and both birds flew through and went down to the lower world. They found Masewi and Oyoyewi, who welcomed them and invited them to eat. The swallow told the brothers that he had come to bring them back: Iatik wanted them. But Masewi said that they did not wish to return yet. After a time, however, the brothers agreed to return on one condition. "If Iatik sends us something that we really like to eat; if she can guess what it is that we like best and sends it to us we'll return." So the birds set out for Kacikatcutia. Coming up the hole they called out to the toad to open his mouth. Humming bird flew through first. The swallow was a little slow and when he was flying out of the toad's mouth the toad bit his tail and pulled four feathers out of the middle. That is why the swallow has a forked tail to-day.

The birds went to Iatik's house and told her what the brothers had said. Iatik thought a long while, trying to decide what the brothers would like best to eat. At last she chose some ho'nuk^{a} and diak'unu (dried berries). "Perhaps this is it," she said. So she ground the berries up and made them into four little balls. She wrapped each ball, with a cigarette, in a corn husk. She knew that Masewi always wore a cpaiak'a (a short downy eagle feather, worn on top of the head) so she put in one for him.

During this time the four years had almost elapsed. Some of the people in the village had already died of starvation.

When Iatik had prepared the gifts she called the two birds and told them to take them to Masewi and Oyoyewi. So humming bird and the swallow made another trip to the underworld, passing through the horned toad as before. They gave the four husks to the two brothers. Masewi and Oyoyewi unwrapped the husks and found the balls of dried berries; it was just what they wanted. So they told the birds to return to Iatik and tell her that they would return in four days. They told them to tell Iatik to announce to all the people that they would return in four days; they wished to have the people expect them. Then Masewi got a sack of seeds—all kinds of seeds—and gave it to the birds. He told them to give it to Iatik and to tell her to spread them out before her altar so that they would multiply sufficiently to supply all the people of the village. After the seeds had remained before the altar one day they were to be distributed to the people who were to go out and plant them.

The birds returned to Iatik with the seeds and told her what Masewi had said. Iatik spread the seeds out in front of her altar. They multiplied many, many fold. The next day she distributed them among the people of Kacikatcutia and told them to plant them, which they did.

On the fourth day Masewi and Oyoyewi came up from the world below. When they came out of the hole they thanked the horned toad and dismissed him. As soon as they had done this a great cloud formed over all the fields of Kacikatcutia and it began to rain. It rained for four days and four nights. Masewi and Oyoyewi returned to their house. Iatik was glad to see them. The seeds that the people had planted sprouted and grew. When the rain ceased four days of sunshine followed. On the fourth night after the rain Masewi and Oyoyewi went all through the fields and prayed. Everything began to ripen at once, for the brothers knew that the people were in need of food. Then the people gathered their crops. They set aside a day to visit Masewi and Oyoyewi. Then the people realized that the two brothers were very great, that they possessed great power. That is why the Acoma people to-day believe in Masewi and Oyoyewi. Da hama tcaitc. (This is the way it happened.)

ANTELOPE MAN BRINGS BACK THE K'ATSINA

Mic^a Hama, two gomaiowic came from Shipap to look for the k'atsina. The k'atsina had hid in a hole in the ground in the northwest. The kuuts' hanotc (Antelope people) were looking for the k'atsina, too. The Antelope man met the gomaiowic (scouts, like the Zuñi "mudheads") on the road and asked them what they were doing. The scouts told him that they were looking for the k'atsina. The Antelope man said that they were looking for them, too. The scouts said, "Let's go to ask Spider (Gamack^a). Guess he knows where went those k'atsina." Then they got to the Spider's home and asked her where the k'atsina were. Spider woman said she didn't know where they were. Then she said, "I guess I'll go to Salt Lake and ask the Salt woman (Mina K'oya) if she knows." She told the scouts and the Antelope man to wait until she came back. The Salt woman said, "Yes, I know what place they stay, those k'atsina. You tell the Antelope man and scouts to wait until the horns of the antelope are ripe (hard, mature)." The Salt woman told the Spider woman to tell the Badger (dyup') to be ready. (The Badger was to dig a hole before the Antelope broke the door with his horns.) Then Spider woman went home.

The scouts and Antelope man asked Spider woman what the Salt woman said. "Yes; I know where they are, those k'atsina. But you got to wait until the Antelope's horns get ripe, and the badger got to dig a hole first before the Antelope knocks the door down. I go to see the badger now. You stay here for four days. On fifth day we'll go to where the k'atsina are. You can stay here and hunt deer and rabbits, so we can feed the k'atsina when they come out." Then she went to see the badger.

On the first day the scouts and the Antelope men went hunting in the north. They got a deer and brought it home to the Spider woman's home. The next day they went west and got a deer. The third day they went south and got a deer. The fourth day they went east; killed a deer. Spider woman made some matsin̲i during the four days. On the fourth evening they boiled the meat in four big pots.

On the fifth morning they went to the Badger's house. Then they all went to where the k'atsina were. The Antelope was there when they got there. The gomaiowic dug in the ground a little way with their flint knives. Then one of the gomaiowic gave his knife to the Antelope man (the Antelope man just carried a cane, crooked stick, gonac), and he dug a little. Then the Antelope man told the Badger to dig down to the door. The Badger dug down until he got to the door. The door was a thin rock. Then Antelope man told the Antelope to break the door with his horns. The Antelope backed off and ran toward the door and hit it with his horns. He hit it four times. The third time he cracked the door. The fourth time he crashed through inside. The Antelope man went in, too. The gomaiowic stayed outside. There were lots of flowers, corn, melons, inside where the k'atsina were. The Antelope man met the head k'atsina, Kimacᵉ, and told him he had come to get the k'atsina out. The people were hungry because they did not have the rain. Kimacᵉ said, "All right. We go out to-day and make rain for those peoples. And we got fruit here. We drop them right by the pueblo for the people to eat." The Antelope man said, "All right. I be glad if you do feed my people. They hungry." Then the Antelope man said, "We got to stop at Spider's house. We give you good meal there. After that you could make the rain." Kimacᵉ said, "All right."

They went out. The Antelope man led the way. Then came the antelope (who had butted the door down). Behind the antelope came the badger. Then the k'atsina; Kimacᵉ was at the head of the k'atsina. The gomaiowic were way behind. When they got to the Spider's house they gave the k'atsina the deer meat. When they finished, there was lots of meat left, so the Antelope man told the k'atsina to take a lunch with them. So they took a lunch. Kimacᵉ said, "We got to go back to Wenima first, but to-morrow we going to make rain for whole world." The Antelope man said, "All right." Kimacᵉ told the Antelope man to tell the people they were going to bring fruits and make rain four days and four nights.

The k'atsina went back to Wenima. (Wenima, or Wenimatsⁱ, is a place "out west"; it is always referred to as "the home of the k'atsina.") The gomaiowic and the Antelope man went back to Shipap (the place of emergence, located "in the north"). They told the people it was going to rain four days and four nights. After, on the fifth and sixth day, they could plant anything they want.

Next day the clouds came from Wenima and it rained like everything. The people had a meeting at Shipap. They made the Antelope man, the headman, to call out the k'atsina. No one else could. The people, everybody, made prayer sticks. After the rain, in the morning, Kimacᵉ came to the Antelope man's house and said, "Well, we finished now. You can tell your people to plant to-morrow. It will be all right." "All right."

The people came in with prayer sticks to give to Kimacᵉ. Kimacᵉ told the people that the Antelope man was their headman because he was the one who had brought them back. He would be cacique.[34]

The k'atsina went back to Wenima.

Da Hama tcui nautᵉ.

MASEWI AND OYOYEWI KILL A GIANTESS

They were living right near Acoma, with their mother. (The sun was their father. They used to live at Hakaaitc—place where sun rises—but he sent them away to live near Acoma. They grew big enough in four days.) They were pretty brave boys and smart boys too. After four days they went out hunting rabbits and deer. They brought in rabbits and anything they could get. Next day, went out again. They got an antelope and some other animals too. Next day they got a deer. Next day, got a bear.

Then they wanted to go to the east to the sun. The cacique (of Acoma, presumably) wanted to know where they came from. From the sun they told him. "How you come?" They told him the sun sent them. Then he believed them. Then they told their mother they wanted to go back to the sun, their father, to see him. The mother said, "How you can go? There is all kinds of dangers." But they said, "But we can go. We can manage those things, those dangers. Our father will take care of us, and we got arrows and bows to protect with. And we got hictian tcaipitcan (this is a piece of flint shaped somewhat like a boomerang. When it is thrown it looks 'like lightning')." They get to the sun. "Now we got back here Naicnia Ocatc (Father Sun) to see you. Doco domako skaaitsa (now we are grown big). We come to get you to help us to get more strength and to be brave in this world and to have more power." The sun said "All right. I give you the power because there are many ckoyos (giants) who carry peoples away with their baskets and eat them." The boys said that they wanted to kill those ckoyos. The sun said they could kill them with their flints. "And I am going to give you advice. You stand this far from the ckoyo and tell him to look back. When he look back you can throw this flint and cut his head off." "Now we better go back (the boys said) and do what we want to the ckoyos. Because there is one place where a ckoyo has got lots prisoners. He got them full in all his rooms."

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[34] The cacique at Acoma is always an Antelope man (member of the Antelope clan, the kuutsᵉ hanoctc). He is spoken of as the "father of the k'atsina."

They start back to their mother. When they got back they told their mother what they going to do. "We want to kill all these ckoyos now. When we are ready we are going out to kill them." Their mother said, "No; better not go out 'cause surely they going to get you fellers and eat you up." They told her, "No; they wouldn't eat us up. We're going to cut their heads off." "How you going to kill those ckoyos? You haven't got the power to kill them." "Yes; Father Sun gave us the power and told us to kill them." "How, and with what, are you going to kill those ckoyos?" "Well, we got bows and arrows, and here is the flint that we going to use to kill those ckoyos." "No; dear children, I don't think you can do it. They going to grab you before you can run away. They got long hands and long-legged, too." "Well, mother, we know how to kill them. We can hide. They can never find us where we hide." "The ckoyo will see you very far off. They will see where you hide and get you right there," she told them. "Never mind, mother, you will see how we going to do it, to get them." "No, my dear children, I wish you would mind me." But the boys say, "Now we want to go where the ckoyo, his home is."

When they start out they laughing, dancing. "Oh, we going have lots of fun with that grandmother ckoyo (stcra bana). (The informant always used the word ckoyo, never translating it. He formed the plural easily by adding 's.') Let's go out here where she can see us." Then they went out to the northwest from their home south of Acoma. They look for a place where ckoyo can see them. They stopped on a sandy place and played like children so the ckoyo could see them. Pretty soon a ckoyo saw them; Masewi knew it. "Let her come here; we going to get her to-day." Oyoyewi was a little afraid.

Ckoyo lived at Cakaiya (a large mesa near Acoma) on top. Ckoyo saw them; look down. She knew it was Masewi and Oyoyewi. "I am going to get those children. I am going to eat them up." She takes only four steps and gets where Masewi and Oyoyewi were. When she get there they pretended they didn't see her. "Let's holler and play and she'll feel funny," Masewi said. Oyoyewi said, "I'm afraid of her." Masewi told him, "Don't be afraid. We'll get her before sundown."

Ckoyo said, "Here, my dear grandchildren, come here." Masewi and Oyoyewi didn't want to listen, but kept playing. Ckoyo said, "Now I'm getting tired waiting. Let's go to a nice place to play. Come get in my basket. I take you to a nice place." Masewi said, "Let her alone till we find out a way to get her." Then he said "All right. Let's go get in her basket and let her carry us away."

Then they went to the basket. "All right, get in." Masewi got in and jumped out and in and out. "You got fine basket here to carry us." "Yes; I got fine basket to carry you." They both jumped in. "Now are you ready? Sit down so when I get up you won't fall off." "All right, grandmother." Then Masewi say, "See what fine basket our grandmother got to carry us?" Oyoyewi said, "Yes; that's pretty nice basket."

Ckoyo stooped down and put basket on her back and she walk off. Some one saw them. "Oh, some one is caught by the ckoyo. Oh! it's Masewi and his brother. Let's go back and tell their mother." They went back and told their mother. The mother was afraid. "I tell them not to go, but now they will see how they will do them, those ckoyos." She was crying, "I'll never get to see them no more."

Ckoyo got up on top of mesa in the pines and piñons. Masewi and Oyoyewi would hang out the basket. Ckoyo would look back. "Don't fall out!" "No; we just playing. We like to play." The boys would pull her hair and say to each other, "I wonder what this is?" Ckoyo would say, "Don't do that; that's my hair." They would pull the buckskin on her shoulders. "Take us under that tall piñon tree. We want to get brushes to play with." When she took them under the tree they broke off some branches and got some pitch. "Let's get some pitch and burn her hair off. Then she will throw us down." And they asked again, "Take us under that pine tree. We want to get brushes to play with." Then she did. Then they asked to go under a dry pine tree. "We want to get pitch to make chewing gum out of." They got the pitch to make gum out of. Now they get to her home, the ckoyo. "Now, grandchildren, get down. Here's the place where you can play all the time and be happy." "All right." They jumping around and hollering 'round. "Better go over there on west side. There is an arroyo there. There is a nice place to slide down. But don't go far away. There's lots bear and lion there."

They stay there and play around till afternoon sometime. Then they thinking there. Masewi said, "Let's build fire down here so she won't see us. Or maybe we can get some rabbits or a deer and we will take to her." They walk off little ways and get some and take them to her. When they get to her house they say, "Here is some rabbits. You can roast it and eat it." "Oh, fine, dear grandchildren. You are good boys and good hunters." "Yes; then we can go out and get deer for you. We see some tracks." "No; you better not go. Maybe will get you some bear. You better go back and play." "All right."

They said, "Let's build a fire." So they got lots dry wood and make big pile. Then they go out little ways and found a deer. They catch that deer and take to ckoyo. "Oh, fine, boys. You are good hunters. I will have plenty to eat now." "Then we can go again and get some more." "No; don't try to get bear or lion. They will get you to eat."

Then after while said Masewi, "Let's go get some deer or bear for our dear grandmother." And they try to go back to where they have the wood. On their way they went by the house where the ckoyo got many prisoners—mans, womans, childrens, little kids. They tell them the ckoyo giving them the deer meat. Ckoyo called them away from the house—"Don't do that." (They're looking through the hole.) "They pretty fat, those people," the boys said. (When the ckoyo wanted one she asked them to stick finger through a hole. If they weren't fat, their finger would go through the hole easily.) They told Masewi, "If we can't put finger through the hole she opens the door and takes us out and butchers us and roasts us and eats us."

Masewi sends Oyoyewi out every once in while to see what ckoyo is doing. Masewi tells people, "Now we going to get you out. We going to kill her, the ckoyo. This is the last day for her." Some were happy and some cried. "No; you can't do it. The ckoyo going to eat us all up." "Yes; sure. We going to get you out; we going send you home to-day."

Then they went out to where the pile of wood was. It was afternoon. Then they build fire there. After while ckoyo called them back to get something to eat. When they get back to ckoyo's home they see deer meat, rabbit, and some other meat. "What's that?" Oyoyewi asks. "That's person meat, what you going to eat." "No; I won't eat person meat. I going to eat deer meat." Then they eat. She tries to make them eat person meat. "No; its too fat. We don't like fat meat." Then they got through eating and went back again. They put the flint ball in the fire to heat it. They put two balls in. When they got back they saw the balls pretty well heated hot. Then the ckoyo went to the house 'cause she heard crying and talking, and she didn't know what was the matter. "What's the matter? I hear crying. Do you want to get something to eat?" "No; we not doing nothing." "Yes; I heard something, look like crying or hollering. Did Masewi come around?" "No; we never see him." But ckoyo thinks so. "No; we never see him."

"Now be ready for her. Let's call her to come out here." They told her to come out to where they were playing. "You come out and watch us. It's pretty hot to-day. You better stand up on that rock there and see how we playing down below." Ckoyo said, "All right. I'll come out and see you." Masewi and Oyoyewi got down and picked up the flint balls. Covered the fire with ashes and sand. They left the flints on one side.

The ckoyo stands up there; and she was pretty sweat, too. She wears some kind hanging-down dress, the ckoyo. Masewi told his brother, "When that ckoyo gets up there I'm going to tell her to stand by the edge of the rock and cool off." He told Oyoyewi, "Then you'll be next; I'm going to do it first. I'm going to pick this red-hot flint up and throw at her first. If I don't get her then you be next to throw at her."

The ckoyo come out and stood on rock and looking down at them. When she get there she say, "Hello, boys. You playing nice there." "Yes." "Oh, grandmother," the boys say, "Get cool off. Pull your dress up." And she pulled dress up. Get wind in. "Turn around and cool your back off. Pull dress up higher." Masewi threw the red-hot rock up her rectum and she fell down dead. Oyoyewi hollered, "Now you got her. I didn't get no turn to throw at her."

They went up to the prisoners. "Now you free." Some of the prisoners didn't believe it. Masewi said, "Get your things and go home." Then Masewi hit the door with his flint and smash it open. The prisoners came out and started to run home. Masewi told the people not to go away. He said the ckoyo would come back with hail and kill them. "I got buckskin. I going to make a tent of hides" (he had bear hides, buffalo hides, etc.). Masewi tore the house with his flint and made a shelter of hides, and poured melted pitch over it and it got hard. "Better get all your people in here or the ckoyo will get you with a big hail." Then he called them all back. "Now you see it already clouding up. Coming a big storm from all directions." And they all come together right above the shelter just as they had finished. They went under. Then came the hail. Sure pounded those hides. Great big hail. "See what I told you? Now you are safe. This is the last time the ckoyo can try to kill you. Go home now and be happy. You will have no more trouble." All went home.

Masewi got back home that evening. The people already knew about it. Some people doubted it even when they saw them. That evening people came to ask them. The people told them that Masewi had freed them.

MASEWI AND OYOYEWI RESCUE A GIRL FROM A GIANTESS

The people went out to hunt rabbits. They went to the east. When the people came home in the evening there was a girl left behind. She had lots of rabbits. She got too much. She didn't know how she was going to get home. She tried to carry them, but they were too heavy. She couldn't carry them so she looked for a place to camp that night. She found a place in a cliff—a cave. She stopped there and built a fire. The war chiefs were watching the people, but they didn't miss her.

A ckoyo (giantess) saw the fire from the Sandia Mountains (northeast of Albuquerque, 70 or 80 miles away). She took 10 steps and got to where the fire was. She saw the girl roasting rabbits. She was roasting all of them to carry home next day. Ckoyo said, "Who are you?" The girl told her her name. "Where did you come from?" the ckoyo asked her. "We went out to hunt rabbits. I got lost, that's why I camp here. And what are you doing here?" "I same. I can't go home it's so late, so I came here to camp with you."

The girl got scared. She didn't know what to do. Ckoyo was sitting down. The girl then saw a great big head and face. "That must be a ckoyo" (she said). "Oh, dear me, she going to get me. She going to eat me up." Ckoyo said, "Oh, you got fine roasting rabbits?" "Yes." Ckoyo asked for some rabbit meat. "I am hungry. If you can, let me have one to eat." "Which one do you want to eat?" "The one on the east side." "All right." The girl pick it up and give it to the ckoyo. Ckoyo threw it in her mouth all at once and swallow it. Ckoyo said, "Who is your father at Acoma?" "I am the daughter of hotceni (chief)." "Which hotceni?" "Tsatyao hotceni" ("outside chief," the war chief). "Oh, yes. I know who you are now."

In the village they were asking about her. They waited for her all night. "Yes; we saw her. There is a boy with her. They will come home late," some one said.

Ckoyo asked for another rabbit. "I'm so hungry. Give me the one laying on south side." She took it and swallow it right away. After while she asked for the one laying on west side. The girl give it to her and she swallow it all at once. Then the ckoyo asked for the rabbit laying on the north side. Ckoyo swallow it up. Then the ckoyo took rabbits two or three at a time and ate them. She ate up all the rabbits. It was late in middle of night then. Before the ckoyo had come the girl had taken off her leggings. "I wonder what she's got," the ckoyo said. The girl was scared. She moved back in the cave. "What you got in back of you?" the ckoyo ask her the girl. "Those are my moccasins." "I wonder if you can let me have one? I am not full yet." So girl threw her one moccasin. Ckoyo pick it up and swallow it. "I wish I had another one." The girl threw her the other one. After while the ckoyo asked the girl for one of her leggings. The girl gave it to her and the ckoyo ate it. Then she gave her the other legging. Then the ckoyo kept asking for her clothes. The girl give her all her clothes, one at a time. First she gave the ckoyo her stockings, one at time, then her dress, then her odinuts (the silk "back apron" which pueblo women wear on their backs), her belt, her shawl. The girl was naked now. She was crying. "Don't cry; I won't hurt you. Come home with me," the ckoyo told her. "No; I won't." The fire went out. Ckoyo said, "I wish I have your body." "No; I can't give you my body. Can't you go away from me?" Ckoyo kept on asking. Ckoyo tried to reach her with hand. Then she stuck a stick in. Then she went out to get a hard rock. She pounded the cave away with the rock. It could be heard far off.

Masewi knew it. He went out and listened. He heard that the girl had not come home. He woke his brother. "Let's go," he said.

They left early in the morning. They took the flint (the curved flint that they had received from the sun, their father. When this flint is thrown it looks like lightning). They ran. They saw the ckoyo. Masewi said, "You watch. I'm going to run; and if I don't cut her head off, you be ready next." He sing to his flint. Then he throw his flint and cut giant's head off. They told the girl to come out. They threw her the clothes that ckoyo ate. The girl put her clothes back on. They went home in the morning. They scolded the girl. That's the way it was.

THE BLIND BROTHER AND THE CRIPPLED BROTHER

Tsikinumi. They were living down below Acoma on north side, a kotcinnako (a woman; this term is used almost exclusively in myths) and her two boys. One boy could walk all right, but he was blind. The other boy could see, but he was crippled; he had hands and feet just like a duck (webbed) and kind of skin like what was between his fingers was hanging down from his arms and all down his sides and legs. He couldn't walk good. Sometimes when they want to go out to play, the one that is blind he carries on his back his brother. The one that was blind he carries bow and arrows. They go out to hunt sometimes. The webbed one would see the birds and he would say, "There's the birds! Let's catch the birds!" he'd tell him. "Shoot him with your bow and arrow!" "Where? Just tell me where to shoot." The blind boy would hold his bow and arrow and the webbed boy would move it until it was right. "Shoot!" That's the way they used to go out sometimes and bring them (the game they shot) to their mother. Then when they get strong enough they want to go far away to hunt.

One time they went to the spring, Go'mi, west side. They found a deer there. "Oh, there's a deer!" the webbed one said. The blind boy said, "Where?" "Right there! Let's shoot him!" The blind boy took his bow and arrows. The webbed one showed him where to point. They shot that deer right there. The blind boy said, "How we going to take home this deer (he says), we ain't got nothing to cut with?" When they got to where the deer was the blind boy felt all over him. "How we going to get him home? He pretty heavy." The webbed boy said, "Let's go look for flint." "What kind of a flint do we have to look for?" says the blind boy. "The one that is sharp and is shaped like a knife."

The blind boy put his brother on his back. The webbed one was singing about something to cut with. He was singing that way. They looking all around. They heard a coyote that was near by. Finally they got to where there was many trees. The coyote was standing there. Then he was listening to what the webbed brother was singing. "Hello, boys; what you looking for?" "Nothing," the webbed boy said; "We not looking for nothing. We just walking around here," he told him. "Yes; one of you boys singing that you looking for knife to butcher with." And he says, that boy, "No! I didn't say I am looking for something like knife to butcher with. I says this way caiutsi, caiutsi (the wind sounds like this when it blows fast)." "No; you must have something killed around here." "No; how can I kill something. I am webbed and my brother he's blind. How can we kill anything?" "No; you must have something, a deer maybe, killed around here." Then the coyote he walk off. Then they found right near there a flint and then they went back. Then that blind boy said, "Let's look for the coyote and see if he is going off. Let's get up on a high place so we can see if he's going off. Yes; he's going off now; let's go back." Then they go back where he's laying, that deer. When they got back there they commence to cut the skin right in the middle. When they got that open, that skin, they skinned some off. They took the guts out and cleaned out good. Then they put some blood in one of the guts and tied up good. Then they set it away. "We going to take this to our mother. Then she can fix for us with the corn meal. She will fix the oven in the ground and mix the blood with the corn meal and cook it. Let's save everything."

They skinned all off. They were stay there all day. Then comes night there. "I wonder what we going to do with this deer? Well, let's get all this meat and put on top the trees here." "Let's camp here, then," the webbed one said, "and go home in the morning. I wonder what she will be thinking about us; our mother, if we don't get home. She will think some wild beast get us and eat us if we don't go home. Let's go." "No; she won't think that. We got bow and arrow. No one going to get us. We will protect ourself." Then they hang all the meat on the tree. Then they had the guts with the blood in it. The blind one said, "Let's build some rocks around and bury the blood right here. We'll eat it in the morning." The webbed boy showed his brother where to find the rocks. Then they build the oven and start a fire in it. After it all got heated up good they clean out the fire and use the cedar brushes to sweep it out good. Then they put it in, the guts and blood together. When they put it in they cover it over with a thin flat rock Then they build a fire on top of the flat rock. They keep the fire going that way a little while till they think it's cooked enough. Then they start to fix the bed. "Let's go to bed," they say. Then they went to bed. Next morning they get up early in the morning. Then the blind boy asked his brother, "Where did we bury the guts?" "Right there," and he show him where they were. "Let's get them out and eat early and then we can start out early for home." Then the blind boy took it out and laid it out on cedar branches.

The webbed boy moved around; he could hardly move; he just go around slow like frog. The webbed boy touched the gut. It hot. "How we going to open it, this gut?" Then the blind one sharpened a stick and stuck the gut with the sharp stick. And it was full of steam. When it got stuck with the stick it explode. And the webbed one he was sitting right near, and when it explode, all the blood went over him. It was hot, that blood. And when the blood got on him, all that skin between his fingers and toes and all along his sides, it came loose and came off. "Oh! Look what the blood did to me." And he start jumping around and dancing. He was glad; happy. And the same way, when the gut explode, it went over the blind boy. And when he wipe the blood off his face, his eyes, he could see. They were both glad. They dance around. They glad. "See what it done for us, this noctin' (sausage)!"

They start home right away. They pack up the deer meat and run home right away. They didn't have to come back. When they get to their house, their mother is up on the house. "I wonder who is coming with those packs. I wonder if they are my children. I don't think so. He isn't carrying his brother on his back, but they are carrying something."

When the boys got to their house they called out, "Here we are, mother. We have lots deer meat. Open up the door; we want to get in." The mother was surprised. "Wonder how you got that way?" she said. "Yes; that's wonderful that noctini, what it done to us," they told their mother. And they told her how it happened.

How Kaubat Lost His Eyes

Once, in the old days, when the Acoma people were still living at the foot of the eastern end of the mesa of Ako (at Akohaitit^{a}), they were making baskets to hold meat. The war chief decided to send every one out to get some reeds (ya·'a) to make the baskets with. Someone knew that lots of these reeds grew at a place north of Acoma, so they all went there.

There was a man named Kaubat', who lived west of Ca·'kaiya (a large mesa near Acoma). He knew that the Acoma people were going out to get reeds, so he went along, too. He met a girl. He gave her some reeds that were nicely colored for her baskets. He asked her to come with him to his house. He said he had more of the colored reeds there and that he would give her some more. Then he showed her his mack'utc (this was a small hoop of reeds. It was rolled on the ground with a stick, and perhaps used in a hoop-and-javelin game. The pot rest that women wear on their heads to support water jars is called a mackutc). Kaubat' told the girl to stand where she was and that he would roll the mackutc toward her. If she could catch it, she could keep it. So he rolled it toward her and she tried to catch it. But when she stooped over to get it, she got caught in it and disappeared inside. Then Kaubat' rolled the mackutc along until he came to the north slope of Ca·'kaiya, where he lived. Then he took the girl out of the mackutc and had intercourse with her. When he had enough of her, he went off, leaving the girl in the woods.

The girl was scared and began to cry. She walked aimlessly through the woods, crying, until evening. A badger heard her and came to see who it was. "Sa ma·ak" (my daughter), the badger called to her. "Yes, mother, where are you?" the girl answered. "Here," the badger said, coming from beneath a piñon tree. "Why are you crying?" "Because a man brought me here. He deceived me." "It was Kaubat', perhaps," the badger said. "Where do you live?" "At Akohaitit^{a}." "I don't know what direction that is from here," the badger said. "Come on home with me."

The girl followed the badger to her home. "Put your foot down there and the door will get larger," the badger told her. The girl did this and the door grew large enough to go through. "Make yourself at home, dear," the nice old badger told the girl. "I don't have much to eat what you like." "What do you eat?" the girl asked. "Oh, deer, rabbit, etc."

The badger went out to get some food. She saw a rabbit run in a burrow. She dug it out and killed it. The girl did not know how to build a fire, so the badger showed her how to make and use a fire drill (atyutco'mi). The girl did not want the fire to go out because it was dark. The girl cleaned the rabbit and cooked it. The old badger made a mattress of grass for her to sleep on.

The girl lived with the old badger like this. The girl gathered piñon nuts while the badger gathered other kinds of food. They had game to eat, and hock'an (a fruit that grows on the stem of soapweed). The girl dried the meat. In two days she showed signs of pregnancy. In eight days she gave birth to two boys. The old badger was very happy. She loved the girl and the two babies. The oldest boy was named Ca·'kaiya; the other was named Go'mi. (It was near the spring Go'mi that the girl had met Kauʙat' and it was at Ca·'kaiya that she had been seduced.) The boys grew very fast. When they could talk they called the old badger "Baba" (grandmother). Soon they could talk and sing a few songs. Then they learned to walk. In two years they were full-grown boys. The old badger taught them to use bows and arrows. They hunted deer and antelope. They began to build a house. They liked the old badger very much.

One day when they were out hunting they climbed to the top of Ca·'kaiya. They were looking around. They saw some smoke coming from the village at the east end of the Acoma mesa. They were surprised; they didn't know what it was. "Some one must live there," they thought.

When the boys went home they asked their mother, "Where do we live? How did we come to be here?" The mother told them that she used to live at the foot of Ako. "Where is that?" they asked. "I don't know." "Who is our father?" "Kauʙat'." They asked the badger where Kauʙat' lived. "Way out to the west," the badger said, "it is a two day trip." The boys said they wanted to go out to see their father; "We are going to visit him," they said. "No, don't go," the badger begged the boys. "Yes; we want to go." "All right, if you insist, you can go." Then the badger told the boys about their father. He was a great gambler, she said. He played with anyone who came along, perhaps with some people, or perhaps with some k'a·'tsina who came from Wenimats[1] to gamble with him. Kauʙat' was very lucky and he always won in the end. Then the badger told the boys about a buckskin bag that Kauʙat' had hanging from the ceiling in his house. When Kauʙat' lost everything he had, sometimes when he was unlucky, he would bet that his opponent could not guess what was in the bag. He would bet his heart against everything that the other fellow had. They could never guess what was in the bag. The badger told the boys what was in it.

The boys got all ready to go. They had new moccasins, buckskin clothes, and bows and arrows. They traveled two days. Then they got to Kauʙat''s home. "Guatzi, naicᴅia (Hello, father)," they said when Kauʙat' came out to meet them. "I have no sons," he told the boys. Then the boys told him how they happened to be his sons. Kauʙat′ was kind to them and invited them to come inside and have something to eat. Kauʙat′'s mother was in there, and she talked to the boys. She asked them about their mother and about how she had met Kauʙat′. She scolded her son. "Why didn't you bring the girl here?" she asked. She took a liking to her grandsons. The boys stayed all night.

The next morning Kauʙat′ tried to get the boys to gamble with him, but the boys didn't know how to play. Then Kauʙat′ showed the boys how to run a stick race (atcawaiyi). The boys won. That evening a k'a·′tsina from Wenimatsᶦ came to Kauʙat′'s house. He brought lots of buckskins, mantas, belts, etc., to gamble with. They played aioak'utyeyi (hidden ball). Kauʙat′ won everything from the k'a·′tsina. The boys watched everything and learned how to play the game. Then Kauʙat′ asked the boys to try their luck. All the boys have to bet is their bows, so they bet them. They won. The next day they gambled all day. The boys won right along. Kauʙat′'s mother is nice to the boys. The next day the boys had almost everything that Kauʙat′ owned. They even had his house. The next day Kauʙat′ bet his mother and lost. Then he bet his lion skin quivver (o′ictiwactan). He lost this. He lost all of his clothes, one piece at a time. At last Kauʙat′ bet his heart against everything that the boys can't guess what is in his little buckskin bag that hung from the ceiling. The boys didn't want to do this, but Kauʙat′ insisted. Ca·′kaiya, the eldest, was to have eight guesses; his brother was to have four. Go'mi, the younger, tried first and failed. Then Ca·′kaiya started to guess. He had guessed almost eight times when he said "stci·ta!" (stars). That was what was in the bag. Kauʙat′ gave up. But the boys didn't want to kill him; they felt sorry for him. "We don't want your heart," they told him, "so we will take your eyes out instead." So they took out his eyes. This made Kauʙat′ very mad; he would rather have been killed.

The boys packed up all their winnings; they had sacks and sacks full of mantas, buckskins, moccasins, belts, etc. They decided not to take Kauʙat′'s mother, but to leave her to take care of Kauʙat′; they felt sorry for him. Then they set out for home.

Kauʙat′ was very mad. He groped around the house feeling with his hands because he can't see. He found some pitch and his fire drill. He made a fire. Then he began to sing; he was asking a coadyam (evil one) to help him; he wanted to destroy the whole country. Kauʙat′ keeps on singing. The fire burns up good. Then he put the pitch on the fire; he wanted it to melt and run over the whole country and kill everyone. The fire kept getting larger and the pitch boils out and starts running all over. Kauʙat′ called to his mother to take him away from the flames. She came and got him, but not before the fire and smoke had turned his face black (the mask of Kauʙat' is blind and has a black face). She took him out of the house and ran to the southwest. They kept on going until they came to Stcamunako·t (Black Mountain). They settled there.

The pitch and fire began to spread over the whole country. The boys saw it coming and ran as fast as they could. Then Maiyatcuna (the rain maker of the north) called out the clouds (shiwanna) and rain and put the fire out. It rained for four days and four nights before the fire was all out. The pitch became cold and hard. You can see it near Grants to-day (the lava beds).

The boys got home all right with their winnings. They told their mother and the badger all about their visit to Kauʙat' and showed them his eyes. They threw the eyes up to the sky in the south. You can see them to-day; they are called Kauʙat' K'an (Kauʙat, his eyes).

The boys and their mother lived with the badger for a long time. One day while out hunting the boys met some hunters from Akohaititᵃ. The boys told their mother, and they decided to go back. They told the nice old badger good-by and left. They went by the spring Go'mi; the boys' mother recognized it as the place where she met Kauʙat'. Everyone was glad to see the girl again and the boys. They kept the bag of stars in their house. It helped them to become great gamblers.

Kauʙat' and his mother appear in the masked ceremony of the Corn clan.

TSICTIK'A'TSAME BRINGS A BRIDE FROM WENIMATSᴵ

Tsictikatsame lived on top of a rock a short distance west of Acoma. One day he said he was going to Wenimatsᴵ for a k'o·'tcininak'o.[35]

Tsictik'a'tsame was the son of Ocatc (the sun). He always dressed in a grotesque manner to amuse the people. When he announced his intention of going to search for a girl, all the people at Ako laughed and made fun of him; they said he didn't have a chance. Nevertheless, he left early one morning. He arrived at Wenimatsᴵ about noon. He carried a rattle. Walking about the village, he passed the house of the chief of the K'a·'tsina, Kimacᵒ. (This chief appears in the story of the fight, or Guititanic.) Kimaco had a daughter, Ga'caiinako (white woman). The daughter was amused by the antics of Tsictik'a'tsame, who pleased her very much, so she asked her father if she could follow him to his home. Kimaco gave his consent. So the daughter followed him and imitated him. They went about the village; everyone was pleased.

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[35] All of the mythical women were called k'o·'tcininak'o. This term has been translated often as "yellow woman," but it is a generic term applied to any or all women of the mythical era.

Kimac° liked Tsictik'a'tsame and asked him to come to his home. So he came to the house of the chief. Kimac° invited him to be seated and offered him a smoke. "Where do you live, son?" the chief asked Tsictik'a'tsame. "At A·ko—at Tsicti'a'tsame," replied he. Then Kimac° asked him if he wanted his daughter. "Do you want her to-day?" he asked. "No," Tsictik'a'tsame answered, "I am going to stay here four days before I return." He wanted to prove himself worthy before he took the girl home.

On the first day Tsictik'a'tsame went hunting to the north. He killed a big buck deer, which he brought back and gave to the girl's father. The next day he went west. He killed an antelope, which he gave to the chief. The following day he hunted in the south, where he killed a mountain sheep (K'acKu). On the fourth day he hunted in the east; he killed a bison (Mocaitc) which he returned to Kimac°. Then he asked the girl's father if he were satisfied. The chief replied that he was. "Well, I have won her," said Tsictik'a't-same, "I shall take her home to-morrow."

On the morning of their departure the people gave the girl some spruce boughs. Tsictik'a'same and Gacaiinako danced in the plaza. Then they started homeward. The people at Ako were watching for the return of Tsictik'a'tsame, intending to ridicule him for his failure. But when they saw him returning with the chief's daughter they all felt "cheap." Tsictik'a'tsame was very proud. He decided to have a dance in the village of Ako. So he and his wife went up on top of the rock and danced in the plaza. Tsictik'a'tsame belonged to the Tansy Mustard (I'sa) clan, so he stopped at the house of one of the families of this clan, where he and his wife were served with food. In the evening they went to their home, west of the mesa. The Akomeetc (Acoma people) told Tsictik'a'tsame that he was welcome and invited him to come with his wife to the village to dance whenever he felt like it.

Tsictik'a'tsame and Gacaiinako dance in the K'aiya during the winter solstice (and at Christmas, if they decide to have it). Sometimes, at no particular time, Tsictik'a'tsame and his wife come up to the village to dance. The part of Tsictik'a'tsame is then taken by one of the war chiefs. The part of Gacaiinako is taken always by a man. The dancers need not belong to the Tansy Mustard clan. (Gacaiinako is similar to K'otcininako except that she has a white face instead of a yellow one.)

MACTCOAI IS KILLED TRYING TO RECAPTURE A GIRL

Mactcoai lived to the northwest at a place called Mat^{u}'tcat. He lived with his mother. He always went out early in the morning. He went to Dautum[1] in the south. Gets up on top of a mountain and calls to wake up the clouds. Then he went to Kutc'ana and hollered. Then to Kawecᴅima. Then he went home. Before sunrise.

Then he traveled around. He liked girls. He would catch them. He had a mackutc (this is a small cylinder made of reeds. It is rolled on the ground in a game). He would meet a girl. He would tell her she could have the mackutc if she could catch it when he rolled it to her. When she would try to catch it she would get caught inside it and disappear. Then Mactcoai would pick it up and take it home. When he got home he would take the girl out. He used to catch girls that way.

Once he took a girl home. He caught her at Go'mi (a spring near Acoma). He had a big house at his home where he kept the girls he caught. Had about fifty girls in there. He fed them deer meat. This girl he brought home he got tired of her. He didn't want her any more. He told her, "I guess I send you home to see your mother." He told her in the afternoon. He told her she could take some pretty birds home with her. (There was a cliff, a steep mesa on the east side. There were parrots lived there.) The girl went down to the water hole. A spider lived there. "Guatzi!" (Hello!) "Dawai!" (the reply to guatzi) "Are you going home?" the spider ask her. "Yes, Mactcoai told me. I am going to take a bird along." The spider said "No, don't believe it. He going to kill you. But you keep your eyes open. I'll be there to help you. I'll hold you up. (Mactcoai would take the girl to the cliff to get the parrot. He would hold her by the foot while she reached down to get the bird out of its nest. When she was stretched down, Mactcoai would let go her leg and she would fall down the cliff and kill herself.) I'll take you home." "All right." The girl went home.

The next morning Mactcoai said "Come out. I'll send you home." He took her down to the cliff. The girl saw the birds. "I'll hold your foot." The girl hung down—Mactcoai was holding her by the ankle—to get a parrot. Mactcoai let go and the girl dropped. But she caught a parrot when she fell. She fell slow, slow. Mactcoai went back. He thought the girl died. The spider called to the girl. "We must run fast to escape Mactcoai." Mactcoai went down to see if she was dead. When he got down he saw her tracks where she ran away. He tried to catch her. The spider knew Mactcoai was coming. She told the girl to run fast. The girl was tired. She cried. At Gaca lived four K'otcin·nako (women in myths are called k'otcin·nako). Spider said "Let's stop there." So they stopped there. There was a big hole in the ground with a ladder—"just like estufa." The spider told the girl to tell the women she was running away and to ask them to help her. "They are smart," the spider said. The girl told them, "Can you help me? Mactcoai is coming after me. Can you help me something to save my life?" The women told the girl to go in another room. "When we have killed him, you can come out," they said. "All right!"

Mactcoai was coming. He came on top and hollered, "Is she inside? Tell her to come up!" "No, she won't come up. You come down." So Mactcoai went down the ladder. "Where is she?" The kotcinnakos took Mactcoai in a side room. There were four big potteries (pottery jars, or bowls) in there, one north, one west, one south, and one east. They told Mactcoai to holler in each one of those bowls, and if he could, he could have the girl. So Mactcoai began to holler into the bowls. First he holler in the north bowl. Then he holler in the west bowl. His voice get weaker. Then he holler in the south bowl. His voice weak now. Then he holler in the east bowl. He died in the east bowl: his lungs came out. They tied them up in the bowl. Then the kotchinnakos called the girl out. She saw Mactcoai. The women said, "Let's pick him up and throw him out on top." Mactcoai always dressed good. Looked nice.

"Where is your home?" "At Gomi." "Well, you can go home now." The girl got home. Her mother and father saw her coming. They cry 'cause she been lost long time. She told all about what's happened.

Mactcoai lay there four days. He turn black. The shiwanna (cloud men) missed him. "I guess someone they kill him. He like the girls. We get tired laying down. No one tells us to get up to make the clouds." Those shiwanna had a meeting. To decide what to do. Try decide to hunt for him. "To-morrow morning we hunt for him." "All right." Next morning the clouds came from west, south, east, north. Rained like dickens, all whole world. Finally they find Mactcoai. He all black. The shiwanna said, "Here he is. He's got no heart any more." They look around a while. They find the house where the kotcinnakos lived. "I guess they got that heart in there, those kotchinnakos." So they come up with clouds and lightning. It lightning and it scare those kotcinnakos. They throw the pottery out with the heart in it. The shiwanna pick up that heart and the body. They took him to Kawecnima. They put the heart back. Mactcoai all black. He cry; he don't look like he was. "Can you fix me up so I be nice looking fellow?" So the shiwanna took snow balls and made white stripes. "That's more better now." Then they make earrings for him. They took two lizards (meyu) and made him earrings (he had had turquoise earrings before). Then they gave him a headdress of turkey feathers, and gave him his mackutc and stick back. Then they sent him home. Mactcoai's mother did not know him. "That's me. I'm Mactcoai. They kill me. I lay there four days. Turn black." "Well, that's your fault," his mother say. "Well, mother, I guess I turn loose these girls." He turn them loose. "I guess you still remember where I pick you up," he told those girls, "I guess you can find your way home. I won't keep you any longer." Da hama tcaitc.

Kasewat Rescues His Wife from Flint Bird

In the old days, when the Akomeetc (people of Ako) were living at Akohaititᵃ (east point of Ako, at the foot of the mesa), there was a war chief who had a daughter. She did not care anything about men. She would never speak to them, and she wouldn't let them try to marry her. But there was a man named Kasewat who was a great hunter and a great warrior. He married the war chief's daughter and took her to his home at K'atsim* (the Enchanted Mesa). Kasewat wasn't a very good-looking fellow, but he was very powerful and had all kinds of weapons. He was the best hunter in the whole pueblo. He had killed some giants (cko·yo) that used to roam around the country. The mother of K'asewat was very fond of his wife and used to be very nice to her.

One day the war chief ordered a rabbit hunt. Everyone in the pueblo was going. Kasewat was getting ready. The night before the hunt the caiyaik (the medicine men of the hunt) got their medicines ready and danced and sang the hunting song.

Kasewat's wife was going hunting, too. She was so eager to go she prepared everything in advance. Kasewat's mother wanted to go too, so she could be near the girl (Kasewat's wife), but Kasewat wouldn't let her go. When they started out Kasewat asked his wife if she were going with him, but she said that she would go alone.

The hunters set out from the village east of Ako. They were going to go in two groups; one would go one way and the other another, then they would come together in a great circle, driving the rabbits toward the center. The war chief saw Kasewat and asked him if his wife was along. Kasewat told him that she was with some other people.

Kasewat's wife went along with some other people, but she strayed away from them. When she was alone, away from the other people, Flint Bird (Hictian' koastit) swooped down from the sky and stopped right by the girl.[illegible] He had been watching her from a door in the sky. He used to do that. He would watch through his door in the sky and when he saw a good-looking girl he would fly down and get her

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[illegible] This Flint Bird seems to be a man who wears a suit made of flint knives, a suit which makes him appear like a bird and able to fly like one. When he is home he takes this suit off and hangs it up on the wall.

and take her up above the sky to where he lived. He used to get lots of girls this way.

When the Flint Bird came up to where the girl was he said, "Where are you going, girl? Hunting? I'm going too. We can go together. Hop up on my back and I will take you fast." The girl climbed on his back. "Now, hold on tight and keep your eyes closed," Flint Bird told her. Flint Bird began to fly away. He went round and round and on up until he came to the door in the sky. He flew in and went out of sight.

Kasewat heard the whirring of wings and looked up just in time to see his wife disappear. The war chief was very sad and went home. There was little hunting that day. Everyone was sad. Kasewat went to his home at Katzimo. He found his mother crying. She had seen the Flint Bird carry the girl off. Then Kasewat became angry and determined to recover his wife. That evening he went to the war chief's house and told him of his decision. Then he returned to his home.

The next day he told his mother that he was going to prepare for four days to attack the Flint Bird. He went out in the mountains and got herbs for the emetics. He ran and jumped each day; night and morning he vomited with the herb brew. He looked over all his weapons and got them all ready. On the fifth day he left at daylight, going toward the south, singing a war song that he might be more powerful. Everyone knew he was going. You could hear his song a long ways. He repeated it four times; the people could hear it as if he were very near. No one could understand how Kasewat was going to beat the Flint Bird and get his wife back.

It snowed very hard that day. In the afternoon Kasewat found himself far to the south of Acoma. The snow was almost knee-deep. Presently Kasewat came to a tree where an old spider had her home. "My dear son, where are you going at this time of the day?" the old Spider woman asked. "I am going to find my wife, dear mother," Kasewat replied. "Oh, is that so?" said the Spider. "Well, I want you to come into my house; there are some things I want to teach you." Kasewat, who had not seen her, but had heard only her voice, now looked all around to find her. "Where are you? I can't see you," he said. The Spider woman let herself down from the tree on her web. Kasewat said, "Oh, so it was you that spoke." Spider woman, "Yes." Kasewat, "Where do you live?" "Right down here," said the Spider, disappearing in the snow. "You put your foot down here." Kasewat stepped where he was told and it opened up, leading down into a large room underground. Kasewat descended into the room and looked about. Two or three little girl spiders were there. There was a Spider boy, too, but he was out hunting snowbirds. "You have a nice place here," Kasewat said. "Yes," replied the Spider, "and we would like to have you stay with us for a few days; I have some advice to give you." "All right; I'll stay," Kasewat replied; "I'll take your advice." "So you are going to get your wife back?" asked the Spider woman. "Yes." "Well, you can't do that yet, as I must prepare a way for you to go." Kasewat agreed, and decided to spend a few days with the spider family.

By and by the little Spider boy returned with one snowbird that he had killed. The Spider woman cooked it and brought it to Kasewat. He ate it all. One of the little Spider girls exclaimed, "Oh, he ate it all. He didn't leave any for us." Kasewat replied, "Oh, I'll kill you some more birds; enough to last for some time." The Spider woman said, "Oh, let him eat." Kasewat then went outdoors accompanied by the Spider boy who had taken quite a fancy to him. Kasewat pulled some hairs out of his head and made a snare (wa·sa) to catch birds. With it he snared many birds which he carried back to the spider's home. He threw them down on the floor and began to pick them and cook them. He showed the spiders how to make a bed with the feathers. He spent the night with them.

The next morning, after breakfast, the Spider woman sent her boy up through the hole in the sky, climbing up on a web. The boy was to look around the home of the Flint Bird and to learn just how his flint suit was made; the Spider woman planned to make one like it for Kasewat. Before leaving his mother gave him an herb. He was to chew this when he arrived at the hole in the sky and spit toward Flint Bird's house. This would cause him to sleep soundly.

Kasewat went out into the woods and got some pine boards, which he split with his stone ax. He got pine that had lots of pitch on it. He made a rope of soapweed and made the boards into a bundle which he carried home on his back.

When the Spider boy had crawled through the hole in the sky he looked about and then started toward Flint Bird's house. When he neared the dwelling, he spit out the herb as his mother had directed, to cause the Flint Bird to sleep soundly. Upon entering the house, Spider boy saw the Flint Bird's suit hanging on a wall; Flint Bird was in the back room asleep with Kasewat's wife. Spider boy examined the flint suit carefully and returned, down the web, to his home.

When Kasewat returned he found the Spider boy there. "Oh, are you back so soon?" he asked.

The next day (second day) they hewed the pine boards to the proper sizes and designs. They boiled the pitch in a bowl and dipped the boards in it; this made them resemble flint. That afternoon they made the bird suit. On the third day Kasewat tried on the bird suit. "Imitate a bird," the Spider woman told him. Kasewat hopped about like a bird, flapping his wings. "Now fly a little and get used to the suit, for you are to set out to-morrow morning," the Spider woman told him. Kasewat flew about for a time, circling four times in the sky. He made so much noise that the people at Ako heard him and were alarmed; they feared another visit from Flint Bird.

When he returned to the Spider woman's house she gave him many kinds of medicine. She advised him as follows: "When you get to the gate in the sky chew this herb and spit four times toward his house. Your little brother (the Spider boy) will be with you. Fly quietly and alight outside his house. He will be in the back room asleep with your wife. The coat will be hanging in the front room. Go in, take his flint suit and hang yours in its place. Put his suit on and go away quietly. Then come back, making lots of noise. He will wake up and come out to fight you, wearing your suit of boards. Then you can kill him and bring your wife home. But be careful; Flint Bird is very cunning; he may try to play some trick on you and kill you."

On the morning of the fourth day Kasewat set out. The little Spider boy sat right behind his ear, so he could talk to him. The old Spider woman told her son to take good care of Kasewat. "I hope you will have good luck and bring my daughter back safely. I will wait for you."

Off they flew, and soon arrived at the gate. "Open the gate," the Spider boy said in Kasewat's ear, "but be very quiet." When they had passed through the gate Kasewat chewed the herb and spit four times toward the house, flying slowly. The Spider boy showed Kasewat where the flint suit was. They went in and exchanged coats and went out again. Flint Bird's mother, who saw him enter, thought that it was her son, but when he went out again, she was surprised.

Soon Kasewat returned, flying with great noise. Flint Bird heard him and ran out to see what it was. "Guatzi (hello!)," Kasewat greeted the Flint Bird. "Dawai—eh!" replied Flint Bird. "Where did you get that suit, Kasewat? How did you get here? Did you come for your wife?" "Yes, I did," replied Kasewat. "Well, you can't have her," Flint Bird told him. "Then I will kill you," Kasewat declared. "All right, if you can."

As they were about to begin to fight, Flint Bird's mother came out and said, "Don't fight him. He's your brother!" "No he isn't," the Flint Bird replied, "he is Kasewat." Just then Kasewat's wife was seen peeping out from the house. Flint Bird told her to go back into the back room. Then he asked Kasewat to come in and have some supper. He told his mother to give him some supper and let him stay outdoors. Then Flint Bird retired to the back room.

Kasewat took off his suit and went into the kitchen where Flint Bird's mother gave him food. He saved some for the Spider boy. When they had finished Kasewat put on his suit again and went outside. "He doesn't want us to stay inside," he told the Spider boy.

Back of Flint Bird's house there was a spring and a pond into which four streams flowed. They were of four colors, red, white, yellow, and blue, and when properly treated would produce hail, rain, snow, and wind, respectively. Into the red stream Flint Bird dropped some ice. Soon it began to blow and to hail with great violence. The Spider boy spun a thick web under which Kasewat crawled, the Spider boy resuming his position behind his ear. The hail could not penetrate the web, and sunrise found Kasewat and Spider boy unhurt.

When he woke up in the morning Flint Bird came to the door. "I'll bet Kasewat is dead," he said to himself. Then he called "Kasewat!" "Yes!" Kasewat replied. "Why, that son of a gun (or words to that effect), he didn't die," Flint Bird exclaimed. Then he asked, "Are you cold?" "No, I'm not," Kasewat answered. "You must be tough, you beast. Well, come in and have some breakfast, for I want you to hoe my cornfield."

Kasewat came in and ate breakfast; Flint Bird went into the back room. When Kasewat had finished, Flint Bird came out and took him out to a large cornfield. "Now, you must hoe all this field to-day. If you don't, you can't take your wife home." Kasewat looked at the field and was discouraged, for it was of great size. But the Spider boy told him to hoe here and there about the field. Meanwhile, he spun a web all around the field, save for a small patch. When the Spider boy returned he handed Kasewat the web, and told him to draw it tight. Kasewat pulled the web and it cut down all the weeds. Then Kasewat lay down to sleep, the Spider boy keeping watch. About noon the Spider boy woke Kasewat up, as Flint Bird was coming with Kasewat's wife. Kasewat jumped up and began hoeing the little patch of field that remained unfinished. As they came up Flint Bird said sarcastically, "Look at your husband, working so hard." Kasewat finished the task just as Flint Bird and his wife arrived. Kasewat spoke to his wife. This made Flint Bird very angry and he told Kasewat not to speak to her. Kasewat's wife gave her husband a lunch she had brought and she and the Flint Bird watched him eat. Flint Bird ridiculed Kasewat while he was eating, calling him a glutton and a beast.

"Since you have finished so soon," spoke the Flint Bird, "I will have you make an oven this afternoon. I want you to parch corn tomorrow." So Kasewat set about to make the oven. But Spider boy found a badger and they got her to help them. The badger began to dig and finally had a hole through the sky. Through this they dumped the earth they did not want. They built a very large oven. When it was finished, Kasewat and Spider boy went to Flint Bird's house and told him it was finished. Kasewat ate his supper and went to sleep outdoors as before. But nothing happened this night.

The next day Kasewat got ready to parch the corn. Flint Bird told him to get the wood for the oven, and that his lunch would be brought him at noon. To get enough wood for such a large oven would be a big job. But again Spider boy came to the rescue. "Just go into the woods and select the biggest logs you can find. Strip off some bark and get some chips and bring them back." Kasewat did as he was told. When he returned and untied his little bundle the chips and bark became many big logs. Then he built a fire. When it was burning brightly he went to fetch the corn to be parched. Spider boy spun a web all around the corn and when Kasewat pulled it, all the corn came to the oven.

Then Flint Bird came, bringing all his women—he had about 50 or 60. (They never had any children by the Flint Bird.) The women felt very sorry for Kasewat and among themselves they said, "Poor man, he is going to be killed; he is going to be pushed into the oven." Flint Bird came up to the oven and said, "Have you enough wood in there, Kasewat? Put more in." Kasewat, who still had his flint suit on, put more wood in the oven. "Now poke the fire a bit,' Flint Bird commanded. Kasewat poked the fire, facing the oven door. Then Flint Bird pushed Kasewat into the flaming oven. All the women screamed. Then Flint Bird had all the women put the corn in and close the oven door. "Why are you crying?" Flint Bird asked harshly.

When Kasewat and the Spider boy were pushed into the oven Kasewat spit some hakani wawa (fire medicine), which he had been chewing for this purpose, into the fire. This caused the heat to become less intense. Then he crawled into a secret cave that the badger had prepared, for they had suspected some kind of treachery on Flint Bird's part. Flint Bird and his women returned home. The women were very sad, but Flint Bird was in high spirits.

The next morning, after breakfast, Flint Bird and the women returned to the oven. When they opened the oven some steam and smoke issued forth. They took some of the corn out of the oven and then Flint Bird called "Kasewat!" "Yes!" Kasewat replied. Then Flint Bird flew into a rage. "Can you come out?" "Yes." So

Kasewat crawled out of the oven. The women were dumfounded. The women began to husk the corn which they afterwards took to Flint Bird's house. Kasewat slept outside again, that night.

The next morning Flint Bird came out and said to Kasewat, "You are going to have to fight with me to-day." Then he ordered Kasewat to prepare two piles of wood. So Kasewat made two piles, one smaller than the other. They were going to set these on fire. Then each one would sit on one pile and see who could stand it longest. Kasewat knew that the Flint Bird would choose the smaller pile. So he spit some medicine on it. That noon Kasewat was not given any dinner. When Flint Bird had finished his meal he brought Kasewat's wife out to watch. As Kasewat had anticipated, Flint Bird chose the small pile. When the wood piles were burning, each one sat on one. They were wearing their flint suits. Kasewat began to sing a war song. Flint Bird repeated it. Kasewat sang another. Flint Bird repeated this, but not so lustily. The bird suit made of pitch pine that Flint Bird was wearing was beginning to burn; moreover, the medicine spat upon the woodpile by Kasewat was beginning to have its effect. Kasewat sang a war song for the third time. This time the voice of Flint Bird was very feeble. At the fourth song Flint Bird died. Then Kasewat jumped off his pile and seized Flint Bird's mother and threw her on the fire. Kasewat's wife came forward and embraced her husband.

Then Kasewat gathered all the women together. He divided among them the possessions of Flint Bird—all the buckskins, mantas, beads, etc. They descended to the earth in a basket woven by Spider boy. They passed one day and one night at the home of the old Spider woman, who was very glad to see them. Most of the stolen women belonged to the northern pueblos, so they set out for their homes. Kasewat and his wife returned to Ako. All the people were very glad to see the couple again.

Kasewat Rescues His Wife from a Giantess

Sometime after her adventure with Flint Bird, Kasewat's wife went out to a spring to get some water. While she was there a great giantess came up, put the girl in her basket, and carried her off. There used to be some giants in the old days who roamed the country about Acoma. They carried great baskets on their shoulders. When a giant (cko·yo) found a person out alone he would pick him up and put him in his basket. When the giant got home he would cook the person and eat him.[27]

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[27] Some miles south of Acoma, according to native report, there are some great bones, larger, according to description, than those of any living mammal in America. These bones are said to be those of one of the former giants of the region. I looked for these bones one afternoon but was unable to find them.

Kasewat was out hunting on the day that his wife was carried off, but he did not have any luck. He could not kill anything,[illegible] so he went home. When he got home his mother told him that a cko·yo (giant) had carried his wife off; she had not seen the giant, but she had seen her tracks at the spring, and had found the girl's water jar. Kasewat decided to follow the giantess and rescue his wife. So he set out, but he lost the giant's trail during a storm that night, so he came home and decided to try another plan.

He watched for the giantess, and when she came back around A·ko (Acoma), he went out near where she was, alone, so she could catch him. The great giant saw him, caught him, and put him in her basket which she carried on her back. Then she started to go home. She went out west, and took him to the highest peak of the Zuñi Mountains.

When she got home she threw Kasewat into a large room where there were a lot of other people that she had caught. She was keeping them until they got fat enough to kill. Kasewat looked out into the room where the giantess lived. He saw some of her children there, playing. They were as large as a full-grown man, but they were very young; they were not old enough to walk yet. Kasewat could see the giantess. She was working round a fire. Kasewat called out to her, "What are you doing, mother (naiya)?" The giantess said, "I am making a fire to cook someone." "Who are you going to cook?" "Oh, you'll find out," the giantess replied.

Pretty soon the giantess took Kasewat out of the room. She took him to her room. She took off all his clothes and started to wash him. The women in the other room peeped out to look at him. The giantess had put some stones into the fire to heat. She was going to cut Kasewat open, take his insides out, then she would put those hot stones inside him, and they would cook him. That is the way she cooked them. While the giantess was washing Kasewat, he got to talking to her. He remarked about the heat. It was hot in there by the fire. He told the giantess that she looked hot; that she was all sweaty. He told her she had better get some fresh air. So the giantess went over to a window (or opening in the wall) and stuck her head out to get some air. "Lean out more," Kasewat told her. So she leaned way out; she was stooping over like. Then Kasewat took up one of the hot stones from the fire and threw it at her. She fell out of the window and fell down a cliff and died. Then Kasewat grabbed her children and threw them in the oven and roasted them. Then he went to the room where all the people were. He let them out so they could go home. He got together all of the belongings of the giantess—her beads, buckskins, mantas, etc.—and

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[illegible] The conduct of a wife is felt to affect the husband while hunting, in many instances. Particularly if she is unfaithful will the husband have bad luck.

divided them among the people. Then they set out for home. Kasewat took his wife home. Da hama tcaitc. (This is the way it happened.)

THE ADVENTURES OF SAN DIEGO

San Diego[59] lived east of Acoma on a mesa with his mother. She was very old. One day San Diego took a trip to the south on horseback. He had lots of horses. He took the best horse he had, a mare, kind o' red.[60] He went down south. At about sundown he reached a little Mexican town. He stopped at a Mexican's house a mile north of the town. There were just a man and his wife. They didn't have any children. They were very poor. They just had one rooster; that's all. They just had one bed. The old Mexican in the door saw San Diego ride up and said, "Hello, son." "Hello, father; can I sleep here to-night?" "Sure, get off your horse. I'll take the saddle off and put hobbles on the horse and put him in the pasture."

The old woman gave San Diego his supper. "You eat first, and we eat last," she said. "All right." After he got through eating the woman said, "You better go to bed. You're tired. You been riding all around all day horseback." "All right." So the old man told his wife, "Let him have the bed. We can make a bed for us with your dress and my coat. Let him have what we got." "All right."

In the next room they talked about breakfast. "What we going to have?" "Well, I guess we kill our rooster." And then he took their dollar (they had only one dollar) and went to the store and bought some chili, flour, and lard. The old woman kill that rooster that evening. Boil him up. The old man came back from the store. They made their bed with the woman's dress and the man's coat. San Diego, he's not sleep t'all; he's just waiting till they get to sleep, those people. San Diego, he's very glad those people treat him good, and he's going to pray to God to give those people sheeps, horse, pigs, chickens, house—good house—mans to take care of sheeps, chickens, pigs. San Diego, he get up way in middle of night and pray for all those things. And that night everything finished: On the north side made corral for sheep; on the west side a corral for cows; on the south side a corral for horses; on the east side a corral for pigs and chickens. There were two girls to work in the kitchen, six men to take care sheeps and horses. House was finished. Had 12 rooms, all furnished nice; nice bed. 'Longside was table with best man's clothes; woman's clothes, too. San Diego had same bed, same blankets what he had; he never change it. 'Bout 4 'clock in morning, lots roosters, they're hollering, and cows, sheeps. That man he wake up and hear them hollering. He keep his eyes open for while. Then he grab his bed. "What kind mattress is this we got?" His wife said "Wake up!" "Look, we're sleeping on bed!" "We haven't got any bed." "I know it, but look!" Then they heard the roosters hollering. "We killed our rooster last night, but he still hollering." "Well, I guess our boy he's glad we treat him right. Let's wait until the morning." They try to sleep, but they keep on talking, talking. They very glad.

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[59] San Diego was said to be a k'atsina.

[60] This tale is recorded almost verbatim.

In the morning the man get up and look around the house. There was lots of everything. He walk around. San Diego, he sleep same way; same blankets, same mattress. "Look at our boy. He's got same bed. It must be God's son. I guess; yes."

Pretty soon the two cooks get up in kitchen and make fire in the stove. They heard them. The woman wanted to go in and see. "No," said the man, "let's wait. They going come out, I know, and tell us to come to breakfast. Let's go back to bed." So they went back to bed.

The two cooks came out to wake up man and his wife. "Good morning, father." "Good morning." "Well, you better get up—wash, and put your clothes on—for breakfast." So they got up. Then the old man woke up San Diego. "You better get up and wash. We going to have breakfast pretty soon." They put on their new clothes. Old man wanted to give San Diego a new suit, but he don't like to wear new suits. He won't put on. So old woman she cry. San Diego said, "Don't cry, mother. It's all right. That's the way I like it."

After finished eating, the old man told his man to take the sheep out and make camp. Same for horses and cows. Other man he told to feed the pigs, chickens.

The old man got a letter from a town on south side from king who lived there. He sent a letter to every house. He said he was going to have a bullfight. Anyone if he wants to can fight him. If he win he can marry the king's daughter—any one of them. (He's got eight.) It was going to be next day. San Diego said, "Well, let's go down. I'd like to see how they going to do down there." "All right, we'll go down next morning." San Diego said, "Well, I'll look for my horse." He found the horse. San Diego, he carry two little (loaves of) bread to feed the horse. The horse, he talk. "Guatzi, Kaiotsa!"[61] the horse told him. San Diego said, "Well, we going to king's house to-morrow morning. We going to fight that steer." "All right," the horse said, "I'll be walking kind crippled in the morning. The people, they'll think they going to kill us, but you kill him, that steer." Then the horse said, "Down there what place we stop that Mexican got nice saddle and blankets. But don't take them. We'll take our own stuff. Don't change your clothes, either."

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[61] Guatsi is the Keresan equivalent of "Hello." Kaiotsa is a proper name; I do not know what it signifies.

In the morning they get up and get ready to go to king's house. The two cooks fix the lunch. The man and wife were going in a buggy. San Diego said, "Well, I guess I get my horse." The horse said, "Good morning!" That horse, his name's "Feather." He walking crippled like. "When we get down there, your father, he's going to tell you to take the big horse he's going to have in his buggy, but don't you do it. Take me. The corral has gate on south side. The steer be standing on west side. I'm going around to east side, then north, then west. Then the steer chase us. I'm going to run around the corral four times."

San Diego brought his horse to the house. Old man said, "You better get another horse. Your horse kind crippled." "No; this my own horse. I'm not going to change." "Well, take the new saddle." "No." "Well, take the new blankets." "No." The old woman, she cry. "Don't cry, mother. This way I like it." Old man went in front. San Diego came behind. They got down to king's house. They lots peoples there, lots peoples. A Mexican was trying to kill the steer, but he got killed. And he killed his horse, too, that steer. In northeast corner of corral was a hole. When anybody got killed, they throw them in there. They throw the Mexican and his horse in the hole. San Diego got mad. The king kill the mans there every year. The king said, "Well, anybody going to try to kill this steer?" Nobody say anything. Then San Diego, "Well, father and mother, I guess I go in, fight that steer, kill him." "Well, you better take my horse. Your horse kind crippled. I don't want you to get killed right here." "No; I want to take this, my own horse. I know him." The mother cried. "Don't cry, mother. It's all right. I'm mad now. The king kill the peoples. I'm going to make him stop."

He went in and went around. Talked to the king, "Guatzi, rey (hello, king)!" He asked the king what he would win if he killed the steer. "You not going to win any money. You can win my daughter. Don't you see my daughter up on the porch? You can pick out one you like best." "All right." King said, "Well, I tell the people if they want to bet they can." Band was playing first before goes in it. After finished those band, he opened the gate and went in. Look at that man. "I bet he's going to get killed right away. His horse, he's crippled, and he's so small." "No," others said, "he's not going get killed!" And they talk that way and everybody hollering. San Diego went in and rode around the corral and went in front of the bull. He chase him. (The bull chased San Diego.) San Diego rode around the corral four times. Fifth time the horse he turn around quick, right behind the bull. San Diego, he grab that bull by tail and turn him up on his head so his horns stuck in the ground and broke his neck. Those people hollering. Men throw hats. Women waving shawls. Hollering, "This is best man fighting steer!" The mules dragged the bull to the hole and threw him in.

King said, "Well, you win. Let's go upstairs. Pick out my daughter, which way you like." They went upstairs. The girls sitting 'round the room. San Diego picked out the center one. "This is the one; I pick him up."[a] The girl jump up, grab his neck. "This be my husband!" King said, "Well, what your name?" "My name's San Diego." "Well, you can't sleep with your wife to-night. We going to have bronco busting to-morrow. If you can ride all the hundred horses before sundown, you can sleep with my daughter." San Diego said, "Well, I guess I'll tell my father and mother to go home. I'll stay here." "All right, you go tell them and come back here."

San Diego was ready to eat his supper. After supper he told king, "Well, I go put my horse away somewhere." "All right" (king), "here's a key. Take your horse and water and feed him and put him in the barn. When you come back I give you a room to sleep in." San Diego took his horse to a spring on south side king's house. The spider she knows he was coming to water his horse, so she went to the spring. When San Diego came Spider said, "Good evening, San Diego." "Where are you?" "Right here in the grass. Don't step on me! Can you tie your horse to that post and come with me to my house? I want to talk to you a little while." "All right." And he tied his horse to the post. They went to the south to the spider's home. There was a little hole in the ground. Spider went in. San Diego stopped. "Well, I can't go in it." "No; you just put one foot on the hole, and it will be wide." San Diego stepped there, and it got wide. There was a ladder there, and San Diego went down inside. Spider had lots young ones inside. They playing. Spider told them to be quiet as San Diego was visiting.

"Well, San Diego, you be ready to-morrow to bust those broncos." "Yes." "Well, I'll help you along. Here is some medicine. You chew it up good. Go to-night to the corral and tell the two big ones that you're going to put a rope on them in the morning. Then spit a little medicine on the others."

He took his horse and opened the corral. "Guatzi, caballo!" (hello, horse!) They all runnin' around. "Hello, San Diego. You coming in here?" He called up the two big ones. "To-morrow morning you be rough. Buck round four times. Then go north about two miles. Go round mesa. Come back." (Then San Diego would take off the saddles, crawl under the horses' bellies and show the king how tame they were.) "Now rest of you fellows don't buck. I'm not going to use rope; just whip. I'm going to ride around mesa." Then he spit the medicine (wawa) around. "Good night, horses." "Good night, San Diego."

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[a] This informant used the phrase "pick him up" as equivalent to "choose." For example, in referring to some dish on a menu he said, "This one here; I pick him up."

San Diego went back to the king's house. "Where you been? Been gone long while." "Well, Mexican talk to me. He good friend of mine. Talk long while." "Well, let's go to bed. I'll show you your room." Went upstairs. King locked his daughter in her room and San Diego in a room right near. The girl opened the window and jumped out and knocked at San Diego's window. He got up and let her in, and they slept together there that night. Have a good time.

Early in the morning she got up and went back to her room. King came down and let them out. Told them to wash and get ready to eat breakfast. They ate breakfast. King said, "Let's go. I'll show you the place. I guess you know." "Yes; I put my horse in last night." King said, "Here's a rope to use." But San Diego's horse had told him not to use it 'cause there was a snake in the rope to make the horses wild. "No; I use my own rope." "Well, here is a saddle you can take," the king said. "No; I take my own saddle." "Well, here are some blankets you can use." "No; I use my own blankets." "Well, use your own way, then," the king said.

Lots people came to watch. Some said, "He's going to get killed sure." "No; he's all right!" San Diego opened the corral. Horses ran around wild. He roped one of the big ones. He drag (San Diego) around, buck, try to bite, kick. People hollering. Pretty soon San Diego told the horse to stop. He put on the bridle and saddle. Got on. Bucked 'round four times, then ran to the north like hell. He came back. Took saddle off and bridle. Crawled under belly. "King, look here. He not wild." King got mad. "Sure going to kill him sometime," he think to himself. Then he roped the other big horse. He did like first one. Went same place. Came back, took saddle off and crawled under his belly. "Look here, king. He not wild." King sure mad. San Diego pick up his quirt and went in corral, jumped on a horse, guided him with whip. Went to mesa and come back. He just keep on that way. Finished before sun goes down. Last one he came to king. "All right, thank you." Then he said to himself, "Sure damn I'm going to kill him to-morrow."[63] King said, "Well, let's go back." They went back and washed for supper.

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[63] "Sure damn" was a favorite expression of this informant.

San Diego said, "Well, I guess I'll water my horse; I haven't watered him all day." "All right, but don't stop at the Mexican house. You're tired. To-morrow you got to go up on the mountain to haul timber. You're going to have 100 wild oxen. If you finish before sundown you can sleep with my daughter."

San Diego went to water his horse. He tied his horse and went to the Spider's house. He had the key that locked the oxen up. He went into the Spider's house. "Guatzi, k'amack" (Good evening, Spider)." "Good evening, San Diego. What does the king want now?" "I got to go up on the mountain and get timbers with wild oxen." "All right, I'll go up to-night and tell the woodpeckers to cut the timbers. You want 100?" "Yes." "Here's some medicine to put on. Yoke two and send them up early in the morning. Then the others. My spiders (and others) will go up on top of corral gate and jump down on each pair oxen when they come out. I'll be up to-night and get woodpeckers and cut logs and get Gaiyac hatctsi (Squirrel man) to tie them on. If in the morning when you go up, you meet the first two coming back, don't go up, but come back with them." (The Spider was going to have the woodpeckers cut the timber, a log. Then Squirrel man was going to tie one end of the log to the yoke. The oxen would then draw the log down the hill.)

San Diego went out to corral and told oxen to be ready to go up in the morning to get logs. "First ones I rope, you try to hook me. When I tell you stop, you stop." He told same to his partner (i. e., the other ox of the team). "Now rest of you fellow, I'm not going to use strap on you. Be gentle." Oxen said, "All right." "Good night." San Diego went back to the king's house. The king said, "Where have you been? You been gone long time." San Diego said, "I been down to that Mexican's house." "Well, let's go to bed," the king said. So he locked his daughter in her room and put San Diego in his. That night again the girl she climb out of her window and go into San Diego's room, and they slept together again. The king's daughter said, "My father try to kill you; he kills fellows all time. But I help you; I like you." "All right." "Try your best to-morrow." The girl went back to her room in the morning.

In the morning the king came and let San Diego out. They washed and had breakfast. "Well, let's go now," the king said. The king offered San Diego the rope with the snake in it again. "No; I use my own rope," San Diego said. Then he went down to the corral to get the yokes and the straps. When they got to the corral the wild oxen were jumping around. He caught the two tame ones and yoked them up and sent them up on the mountain. Then he caught the others and yoked them and sent them up too. He followed the last team up. When he got half way up, he met the first team coming down with a log. The Spider woman was coming too. "Go back now," the Spider woman told San Diego, "and ask the king where to put the timbers. Then put the oxen back." "All right."

When San Diego got back down he asked the king where to put those timbers. "What, you back already?" The king told San Diego where to put the timbers. All the oxen came back down with timbers and San Diego he pile 'em up and put the oxen away. He finished before sundown. "All right, king, I'm finished." "Thank you," the king said. He very mad. Then they went in to supper.

The king said after supper, "Well, last time for you to-morrow. You got to herd rabbits to-morrow, 100 rabbits. If you lose any I cut your head off. If you bring back all of them you can sleep with my daughter." San Diego said, "Well, I guess I go water my horse." Then he went to the spider's house. "What does the king want now?" the spider asked. "He wants me to herd rabbits to-morrow, and he going to cut off my head if I lose any." The spider said she would help. She got a little whistle and gave it to San Diego. "Take this whistle. Go to where rabbits are and tell them you're going to use this whistle, and when they hear it to come around." San Diego took the whistle. "The king will try to buy rabbits," the spider told him. "He will come around with paint on him so you won't know him. He will ask you to sell him some rabbits, but don't you do it. Then he will offer you any amount of money. Then you tell him that if he wants one you will sell him one if he will put his pants down. I bet the king will do it."

So San Diego went back. He went to where the rabbits were. "Good evening, rabbits." "Good evening, San Diego." He told them what he going to do to-morrow. He showed them the whistle and blew it, just like rabbits. "Better hide," San Diego told the rabbits, or the king will kill you, but when I blow this whistle, you come back." "All right." Then San Diego went back.

"Where have you been?" the king asked. "Down to those Mexicans' house." Then the king took San Diego to his room and lock him up. The daughter slipped out of her room that night and went into San Diego's room and slept with him again that night. Next morning she went back to her room. Then the king came and got San Diego. They went down to breakfast. They put up a lunch for San Diego to take with him. Then San Diego took the rabbits out. He counted them. There were 100. He took them out and went down south side canyon. The rabbits were running around, eating. San Diego blew his whistle. The rabbits came back. "What do you want?" they asked. San Diego said, "I'm going to lie under that tree. If the king comes, you go hide. When he goes I'll whistle, and you come back." "All right." San Diego went over and sat in the shade, and then he lay down. About 11 o'clock the king came. "Hello, boy," he said. "Hello." "What are you doing?" "Herding rabbits." "Can you give me one?" "No." "Why not?" "I would get my head cut off if I lost one," San Diego said. The king tried to buy one, but San Diego he won't sell. "I give you lots o' money—anything—for one of those rabbits," said the king. "All right," San Diego said. "All right, now let's get the rabbit." But they hunt all over, and they can't find any; they all hid. They hunt long time. 'Bout 2 'clock it's hot. King he got tired. He thought that San Diego would lose anyway, 'cause they can't find those rabbits, so he went home. San Diego ate his dinner. About 4 'clock he went down. He blew his whistle, and all the rabbits they come runnin'; all the hundred.

"Are you all here?" "Yes," the rabbits say, "you count up; we go by one at a time." So all the rabbits went by San Diego, and he count them. They were 100, all there. Then they went back home. The king was watching San Diego. When they got back the king opened the door of the pen and counted the rabbits as they went in. They were all there. "All right," said the king, "you can sleep with my daughter to-night and marry her to-morrow morning." "All right." So they went in and washed for supper. After supper, San Diego went out to water his horse. "All right," the king said, "but come right back, don't stop at that Mexican's house." San Diego went out to where his horse was. "To-morrow morning you going to get married, ain't it?" the horse asked San Diego. "After you marry, but before 11 o'clock, you ask the king for his knife. Sharpen it up good, and cut my throat." "Why?" "'Cause you're going to get married." He told San Diego to knock him down and mark a cross on his throat, then cut his throat open. He was to say, "Go on, my horse, go to heaven." The horse said, "First, I'll blow out my blood, and lots horses will come out. I'll blow out four times. The first time will be gentle horses; the second time gentle horses; the third time, gentle; the fourth time, wild horses. When I finish, you pick out the horse you like best and that will be me." Then San Diego went back. "Where have you been?" the king asked. "Down to the Mexican's house." The king gave San Diego the key to his daughter's room. The girl said, "We going to marry to-morrow." San Diego said, "Yes; but I going to kill my horse." "Why?" "Well, I going get married and I going help my father get other horses." "How?" "I show you."

Early in the morning the king came down and washed for breakfast. The king gave San Diego a suit, 'cause he going to be the king's son-in-law. Then he gave a suit to the girl, too. They going to be married in the church. The king told the people to come at 12 o'clock for dinner. There was to be a dance that night. San Diego asked the king for his best knife—"Your own knife. I'm going to kill my horse." "Why?" "To help you. Get different colors horses." "How?" "I show you." Then San Diego went out and got his horse, and watered him. He took him outside the king's house and tie up one foot. He made a cross on his neck. Then he cut quick. The blood came out (in spurts). The first horses had four "trees" in their eyes.[64] The next had three, the next two, and the next one. San Diego chose a kind of a white and blue horse, same size as his old one. "I'm going to take this one home." The king thanked him for all the horses. San Diego said, "I'm going to go home to-morrow." "Where do you live?" "Long ways. But we come back. My mother she's very old, and I want to see her." The king said, "I'll give you 50 men to guard you and my daughter." "All right."

That night they had a big dinner. That night they had a big dance.

Next morning the king woke up. He went down and washed for breakfast. "Well, I get my horse and go home." The king said, "Well, I'll tell the soldiers to get you four horses and some lunch." When San Diego went out to get his horse he found him crying. San Diego asked him why he was crying. "'Cause we going home. Your mother is dying right now. Better hurry up. We going to a hill. When we're halfway up, I'll fly up the rest of the way. Be sure and keep your eyes closed, and tell your wife to keep her eyes closed. When we get home I'll tell you."

So San Diego told the king that he dreamed his mother was dying and he had to hurry. So the king sent the soldiers out, 50 of them, 25 on each side. San Diego sat in his saddle, and his wife sat behind him. San Diego put two cpaiak'[65] on his right temple. They went out to the west. Pretty soon they came to a hill. They went up. A twister came and blew the horse up. The two feathers (the cpaiak') helped lift them up. The soldiers saw the horse and San Diego and his wife go up in the air. They ran back to the king and told him that his son and daughter were lost. "All right," the king said, "he be back."

Pretty soon they got home. San Diego opened his eyes. He was home. He went in his house. He find his mother dead in bed. San Diego cried, but he couldn't help her. So they buried her. He stayed there three days. Then he said to his wife, "Well, I take you back your home now. I can't keep you here 'cause I travel over whole world. I've got to go to old Acoma September 2d." [illegible] The girl cry. "Don't cry. I see you once in while, but I can't carry you with me." So they went back to the girl's home. They shut their eyes again when the horse went up in the air. They came down near the king's house. The king and his daughters came out. "King, I brought your daughter. I can't keep her, 'cause I travel all over whole world, to Acoma and heaven, but I visit you again." "All right."

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[64] If you look into a horse's eye, you see, sometimes, some little objects that look like "trees," or little fungous growths. Sometimes there is one, sometimes two, three, or four. Some Acoma Indians believe that these little "trees" are indices of a horse's disposition. If he has one "tree" he is a mean horse, very mean. If he has more than one he isn't mean. The narrator of this story had some months before explained this to me.

[65] A cpaiak' is a small, white, downy eagle feather that is often worn in the hair during ceremonies. Masewi, the elder twin war god, was very fond of these feathers.

Then San Diego left and went up to old Acoma. It was September 1st (the day before the fiesta dance). He went inside the church. The next day he dance around in the plaza on his horse. In evening he went back inside the church. Went back to heaven. On his way he met God (Iyos, Dios). God said, "Well, San Diego, this is last time for you to travel on earth. You going stay here with me." "All right."

Da hama tcaitc.

THREE SNAKE TALES FROM ACOMITA

I

There were some Mexicans and Indians working on the section near McCartys. One day while working near the track a Mexican found a snake's nest. There were some little snakes and one or two eggs in it. The Mexican destroyed the nest, killing the little snakes and crushing the eggs. He did this in spite of the warnings of the Indians.

That evening when the men were sitting around after supper a snake was seen approaching. (It was a "kind of dark snake with red on his sides.") The snake came right into the camp. It would approach each man and, raising his head high from the ground, would examine each one very carefully. He continued this until he came to the man who had destroyed the nest. When the snake had found the guilty one he crawled swiftly up the Mexican's body and wrapped himself firmly around his throat. The Mexican screamed for help and tried to free himself, but the snake held on, tightening his grip. At last the Mexican dropped, strangled to death. The snake uncoiled himself and slid away.

(This from an eyewitness.)

II

Some men were seeking shelter from a hailstorm under some large cottonwood trees. The clouds were low and the wind was strong. Rain and hail were falling in torrents. While standing under the tree

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[illegible] San Diego had to be at the fiesta dance at Acoma, for he appears in the plaza riding his horse. This actually occurs every few years at Acoma.

the men noticed a dark snake with red on his sides climbing up one of the cottonwood trees. He was climbing very swiftly. Soon he reached the top of the tree. But he did not stop; he went on, out into the air. He was seen for some time traveling swiftly through the air and clouds, until he finally disappeared.

III

Some boys were herding cattle. One of the boys noticed that a cow trampled on a snake's nest, crushing the eggs. A few hours later the old snake came back and found her nest ruined. The snake followed the footsteps of the cow until she sought her out from the herd. When the snake had located the guilty cow she crawled down the cow's throat. Very soon the cow died. When the men cut the cow open they found that her insides had been cut all to pieces.

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